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AN
HISTORICAL VIEW
OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH
OF
FRANCE,
FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING A VARIETY OF INTERESTING DOCUMENTS,
AND
REMARKS on the SPEECH of LORD CASTLEREAGH,
IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
On Thursday the 23d of May, 1816, on the recent Persecutions
in the South of France.

BY THE REV. INGRAM COBBIN.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.



**A** CONSIDERABLE part of the following pages is prefixed to a work lately published, under the title of **THE FRENCH PREACHER**; it has been thought desirable to enlarge it in the present form, for the accommodation of the Public, who may not chuse to purchase that work. The Author has condensed *all the evidence* that has been published respecting *the late persecution in the South of France*; and has added some **REMARKS ON THE SPEECH OF LORD CASTLEREAGH** in the House of Commons, on the 23d of May, occasioned by the Motion of Sir Samuel Romilly for papers relative to the interference of the British Government in that business, in which are included some of the most weighty facts that have lately transpired on the subject.

He has never for one moment regretted having called the attention of the Public to that persecution; and he is persuaded that the more the evidence is examined, the more he will be justified for the part he has acted. The recent transactions in the South of France correspond so exactly with the leading features of those under Louis XIV. and XV.; and the attempts to conceal them are so similar, that whoever is conversant with the former must give credit to the latter.

As some of the former sheets of this volume were thrown off, to be prefixed to the French Preacher, which is a *translation*, this will account for the word TRANSLATOR occurring in one or two places, which does not properly apply to this volume.

It is hoped that the important documents in the Appendix will materially add to the interest of the work.

*June 1, 1816.*

# HISTORICAL VIEW

## OF THE

### REFORMED CHURCH OF FRANCE.

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**T**HE history of the Reformed Church of France is a history of persecution. The bush has always been burning with fire, but yet it is not consumed. Sacred be the memory of that church! for there, when the rest of Europe exhibited the appearance of a wilderness, a portion of that precious seed was deposited, which has happily germinated in England in such perfection, and promises to fructify the whole earth.

The period of the Reformation produced the general revival of pure and undefiled religion; but it existed in the immediate vicinity of France many centuries before, where its origin is lost in the records of time. The Vaudois, Account of the Vaudois. inhabitants of the vallies formed by the Alps between Piedmont and Dauphiné, had long been devoted Christians, when the light of the Reformation first dawned upon Europe. In those remote countries they quietly professed the faith and worship of the gospel in their

primitive purity, unknown by the world, and unnoticed by the great; when the courageous protestations of Claude, Archbishop of Turin, against the errors and abuses which Rome was introducing into the church, directed the attention of that court to the diocese of that virtuous prelate, and drew upon this peaceable community a series of persecutions which have continued down to the present age. Claude lived in the eighth century; the Vaudois were, therefore, more or less exposed to persecution during a thousand years.

But in spite of the power of their persecutors, they endured their sufferings with unwearied constancy, nor would they ever submit to any other rule of faith than the gospel. This procured for them the appellation of *the Evangelical*. Epitomes of their doctrines are extant in various manuscripts in the Vaudois dialect; and among others, in a small work of the year 1100, entitled, *La Nobla Leison*, which many historians have transcribed, and of which a copy has been deposited at the University of Cambridge; and it is supposed that there is another also in the library of Geneva. With manners simple as those of the primitive Christians, like them the Vaudois obtained numerous followers, and even colonized various countries with devoted characters, to whom their ministers preached the gospel of Christ. Calabria,

Bohemia, and Hungary, derived advantages from these labours of love. Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Calvin, and other distinguished reformers, held various conferences with these people in the sixteenth century, by writing, by deputies, and *viva voce*; and it is a remarkable fact, that they perfectly agreed on all the principal points of doctrine, and differed only on subjects of minor importance.

How far the influence of the Vaudois extended on the side of France, cannot now be determined; but it is certain that they had some connection with that country at an early period, and the valley of Pragela, peopled by this community, had long formed a part of France at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and suffered bitterly in that barbarous persecution.

In the twelfth century Peter Waldo arose, and was the founder of the Waldenses, <sup>The Wal-</sup> a name <sup>denses.</sup> which deserves to be immortalized in the history of the church. Some writers, indeed, consider the Waldenses and Vaudois but as one, and suppose that Waldo even derived his name from his connection with them, instead of their being called after him, as their distinguished leader. This zealous man was a merchant and citizen of Lyons, and was much esteemed for his learning, piety, and benevolence. To him Europe was first indebted for the appearance of the scriptures in a modern language, and



through his benevolent exertions the four gospels were translated from the Latin into French; the first fruits of those labours which have since extended to every quarter of the globe, and distributed the bread of life to nearly all kindreds, tongues, and people. He collected a number of followers in Dauphiné, Picardy, and other provinces of France, to whom he preached, with associates whom he engaged in his work; but though their lives were inoffensive, as they were opposed in sentiment to the church of Rome, they were cruelly persecuted and scattered over almost every part of the continent of Europe. The circumstance of their dispersion, however, served to augment their numbers; and in the year 1315, round about Bohemia only, there were no less than eight thousand persons who made profession of their faith. Waldo died in Bohemia in 1179, after a laborious ministry of 20 years.

**LOUIS XII.** From 1498 to 1514 the French nation were blessed with a king deservedly styled *the father of his people*. Whatever real religion existed in France probably remained unmolested;

**Character  
of Louis.**

Louis XII. always respected the rights of conscience, and never listened to the exclusive claims of bigotry and priestcraft. When he was importuned by many ecclesiastics to put to death some of the Albigenses under his authority, who had at various periods been condemned as heretics,—at the Council of Lateran in 1179, under

Pope Alexander III. in the time of Philip Augustus; by the Emperor Frederic II.; by the Pope Honorius III. in 1217; and by Gregory IX. who was elected Pope in the year 1227,—this good king made that generous and royal answer: “I am king over my people to do them justice, which I cannot do without hearing those who accuse them of being sorcerers and incestuous; for the same reason I wish to hear them before I condemn them, though they should be Turks or devils.” And notwithstanding all the remonstrances which were made to him, that they had been several times condemned, he persevered; saying, that he would not so strain his conscience as to allow it to be prejudiced by any former condemnations, and that he would hear the accused before he condemned them; and after having heard them, he chose M. Fumée, master of requests, and M. Parvi, his confessor, to inquire for him about their life and doctrine; who having faithfully reported what they had observed, the king, far from condemning them as heretics, solemnly declared, that he believed these poor accused were better men and better Christians than himself, or all his other subjects put together. In several cases of appeal from the oppressions of the clergy, Louis instituted immediate inquiry, acted with promptitude and spirit, would admit of no justification of ghostly violence, nor evasion on the part of the offenders,

and ordered immediate restitution of all seizures, or in default of his mandate, that the offenders should answer for their conduct in his royal presence.

**FRANÇOIS I.** At length the bright star of the Reformation  
**Rise of** blessed the world, and about the year 1520, the  
**Luther and** doctrine of Luther began to spread in France.  
**Calvin.**

A few years after, Calvin made his appearance, who was a native of Noyon in Picardy, and a student at the Sorbonne in Paris. Now persecution reared its demon head, and the Reformed Church of France had the honour of wearing the crown of martyrdom. Leclerc, the first leader of the church of Meaux, was the first martyr; he was a carder, and had not enjoyed any peculiar advantages of education, but he became well-instructed, and was afterwards an excellent preacher. He was arrested at Meaux in 1523, whipped in a most cruel manner for several days, branded on the forehead with a red-hot iron, and banished from that town. He then went to reside at Rozai, and finally removed to Metz in Lorraine, where he followed his business, and was executed in 1524.

**1525.** Two other ministers were burnt alive at Paris  
**Two re-** the following year, and the great bell of the  
**formed mi-** church of *Notre Dame* was rung on the occa-  
**nisters** sion; a Lutheran preacher at Metz also perished  
**burnt at** in the flames.  
**Paris.**

**1528.** The Reformation continued to advance

notwithstanding, and many Monks now began to preach the doctrine of Luther at Besançon, but they were imprisoned by order of the Archbishop Antoine de Vergé; they were afterwards tried, and all those who were convicted of having preached the *new* doctrine were punished with death. Although this city did not then belong to France, yet as it has long been incorporated with that kingdom, and has continued to remain as a part of its dominions, the transactions of the Reformation there are too intimately connected with this historical sketch to be passed over without notice. The Calvinists and Lutherans still used great exertions to spread the doctrines of the Reformation in Besançon, and it appears that some years afterwards they assembled together a number of ministers in that city, among whom were Theodore Beza, and Farel, a Parisian, who acquired so much influence, that the archbishop did not think himself capable of resisting their authority without superior aid; particularly as liberty of conscience had been introduced into the empire by the diet of Augsburg: he therefore applied to Maximilian II. who sent some commissioners to see whether the statements of the archbishop were founded on truth; and these commissaries published an edict against *the heretics*, dated June 9, 1573. The emperor also in the preceding year sent the Count de Montfort-Rotenfeld and the Baron de

1528.

Progress  
of the Re-  
formation  
at Besan-  
çon.

1522. Pollevillers with an order to the governors to assist them in discovering those persons suspected of heresy who were at Besançon, and to punish or drive them from the city. After the publication of the edict of 1573, many families retired to Neufchatel, to Montbelliard, to Geneva, and other places of the neighbouring provinces. These exiles attempted a *coup de main* to re-enter their country, but they failed in their enterprize, and many were taken and cruelly punished. A fête and solemn procession was established in commemoration of the deliverance of the town, threatened to be invaded by heretics, to reduce it to embrace the *wretched, damnable, and reprobate new heresy, or Hugonot opinion*. This fête and procession were only a few years since still celebrated.

1532. The reformed religion obtained numerous converts in various parts of France, and the punishments inflicted upon the heretics only excited an increased desire to hear the *new* doctrine. Many persons were put to death, but the progress of truth still continued. Calvin was now diligently labouring, and preached at Bourges and at Lignères, in villages and castles, with much success. The Reformation made rapid progress in those countries, and many students proceeding from the University of Bourges, spread themselves in all its environs, and preached the gospel.

Francois I. who was the declared protector of the sciences, and of those who cultivated them, appeared for a short time to relish the doctrines of the Reformation, of which the Queen of Navarre, his sister, and the Duchess D'Etampes, his mistress, had given him some information; he even wrote to Melancthon to invite him to Paris. In the instructions which he gave to Cardinal Dubelloi when he sent him to Rome, he proposed an expedient to the Pope, by which, in procuring from the Protestants the acknowledgment of his Holiness as head of the universal church, they should take away from them *as much as could be desired*, and as speedily as possible: but this attempt to conciliate was soon destroyed by the Cardinal de Tournon, who had more ascendancy over his mind than his sister or his mistress; and a very few months after, this king, with his children and all his court, was seen in a solemn procession, which ended in *the burning of some heretics*.

1535.  
Francis at first favourable to the Reformation.

Burning of heretics.

The spirit of persecution kept pace with the progress of the Reformation; and this year we find the inquisitors in pursuit of Philibert Sarra-sin, tutor to the family of the famous Julius Scaliger, who was obliged to save his life by flight. Scaliger himself was in great danger, because he had asserted, "that Lent was not established by Jesus Christ; that transubstantiation was not an article of faith before the

1536.

Julius Scaliger in danger of persecution.

1536. council of Lateran; and that he had eaten meat in Lent." He only escaped death through the protection of some powerful friends in the parliament of Bourdeaux: his protection was also important to the king's treasurer, Godailh, whose children were fugitives with Sarrasin. Many other citizens were not so fortunate, having been condemned to make the *amende honorable*, *la torche au poing*, and to sign their abjuration.

1541. Persecution still increasing, and various persons having suffered death for their adherence to the reformed religion, many Frenchmen quitted their country and fled to Geneva, to which place they were attracted by its being the asylum of their distinguished countryman, Calvin.

The reformed escape to Geneva.

1544. The reformed in Provence suffered greatly from the oppressions of Jean Meineer, le Sieur D'Oppède, who was president of the parliament of that province. They applied to the King of France to inform him of the burdens under which they groaned, and the dangers to which they were exposed. The king at first heard them kindly, and abrogated all the proceedings of the parliament. The two villages of Cabrières and Mirandol suffered more than other places, and the inhabitants of the latter were represented to the king as rebellious subjects; while it was falsely stated by their enemies, that they and their neighbours, to the number of more

Oppressions of the Sieur D'Oppède.

than fifteen thousand, had armed themselves, and revolted against the royal authority, with the design of seizing upon the town of Marseilles. Troops were in consequence armed against the reformed, many towns were burnt in their route, and Lourmarin and Villauré were entirely devoted to pillage and destruction. Merindol and Cabrières were besieged; all who were captured were put to death. The barbarous president inclosed a large number of them in a barn, and to complete their sufferings, set fire to it, while many pregnant women perished in the flames. However, the court seemed to relent at these barbarities; they sent commissaries to settle the business, and it was said that Francis I. when he was dying, recommended to his son to repair the injustice committed against the unhappy people of Provence, who had been sacrificed to the avarice, hatred, and cruelty of the Sieur D'Oppède.

1544.

1545.

About this time a violent persecution also broke out at Meaux, afterwards famous as the bishopric of Bossuet, and it extended so far that fourteen persons were burnt alive in the great market-place of that town; many were hung, others were whipped, and the rest imprisoned.

1546.  
Persecu-  
tion at  
Meaux.

Henry II. this year, agreeably to the example of his father Francis, was seen in a ghostly procession at the burning of some of his innocent subjects under the name of heretics.

1549.  
HENRY II.  
Burning of  
heretics.



1551. Bas-Languedoc was one of those countries where the Reformation made the greatest progress, and several courageous men were now honoured with the crown of martyrdom in that country; especially Maurice Secenat, of Cevennes, who was burnt alive at Nîmes, and whose constancy and courage gave dignity to his cause; and Elias Dubosquet, minister of the church of Aiguemortes, who was hung there in presence of his wife and children, at the age of sixty years, by order of the Count de Villars, who seized that town by surprize. The reformed were in consequence scattered, and fled into various parts; but in spite of persecutions, punishments, banishments, emigrations, and forced conversions, the numbers still increased, and many courageous and faithful ministers dared to visit the churches at the hazard of their lives, and to confirm them in their most holy faith.
- Two reformed ministers put to death.
- 1557-8. The more these people were persecuted, like the Israelites in Egypt, the more they increased, and a great number of churches were now formed in various parts of France; while those that had assembled in secret, or during the night, ventured to worship publicly at noon-day. Among the new churches was that of Rochelle, which was founded by Charles de Clermont, who preached there. This church afterwards became very numerous and important, and was for a long time considered as one of
- Church founded at Rochelle.

the principal reformed churches of the kingdom. 1557-8.

The archives and dépôts of all the privileges and important documents of the reformed were established at Rochelle; and when Henry IV. granted the famous edict of Nantes, it was sent to be carefully preserved in the archives of that church. Here Antoine de Bourbon, father of that excellent king, the pattern of good princes, halted on his journey through the town with his wife Jeanne D'Albret, to deliver himself up at Paris; and a minister, for the first time, preached publicly in his presence.

Notwithstanding the sanguinary edicts which menaced them, the Calvinists did not cease to lift up their heads with renewed courage; and men of rank and power were now numbered amongst their warmest adherents. They used all their influence to obtain the marriage of the Dauphin, which drew to court the King and Queen of Navarre, the Prince and the Princess of Condé, with many other persons of dignity, who did not usually appear there, and who were all imbued with the principles of the reformed religion, which had reached their hearts in the retirement of their *chateaux*. After the marriage ceremonies were finished, the princes, princesses, and nobles of their opinion, remained at Paris, frequented the secret assemblies of the reformed church which were held there, paid extraordinary attention to the ministers, and exhorted

1559.  
Meetings  
of the re-  
formed at  
Paris.

1559. them to redouble their zeal and activity for the propagation of their religion. Protected by so powerful a shield, the reformed even convoked two or three consecutive meetings at the *Pré aux Clercs*, a promenade frequented by the Parisians. There they sung aloud the Psalms of Marot,\* set to music. When they re-entered the city, they traversed the streets, singing the airs tenderly, preceded and followed by armed gentlemen, whose fierce countenances, their enemies say, seemed to defy both the Catholics and the police. No doubt they looked more frightful in the eyes of the domineering ecclesiastics than a regiment of devils just emerged from the bottomless pit.

Inquiries  
instituted  
into the  
Paris  
meetings.

The king ordered inquiries to be made about these meetings by the commissioners of parliament. They could find no fault in them. Every enquiry tended more to justify than to criminate the accused. The President Seguier, in his report, attributed the increase of the reformed to the comparison which the people made between the regularity of their manners

\* Clement Marot was the *valet de chambre* of Francis I. and at the request of his majesty versified some of David's Psalms. These the monarch took great delight in singing. "Marot," says Robinson, "translated fifty, Beza the other hundred; Calvin got them set to music by the best musicians, and every body sang them as ballads. When the reformed churches made them a part of their worship, the Papists were forbidden to sing them any more; and to sing a Psalm was a sign of a Lutheran."

and the disorders of the clergy, and loudly declaimed against the non-residence of the bishops, forty of whom were at Paris. These remonstrances did not please the king: he knew that there was not an uniformity of conduct in the parliament on the execution of the laws against heretics; that one chamber softened down what the other rigorously decreed; and that among the counsellors and presidents there were even some, who, not content with adhering secretly to the reformed religion, did not hesitate to make an open profession of it. 1550.

The *mercuriales* were then assembled, which was a sort of domestic tribunal, composed of the presidents of the chambers, and the most esteemed members, authorized by the choice of their fellow-members to exercise a kind of censure over them. Charles VIII. had established their meetings every Wednesday; Louis XII. fixed them for once a fortnight; and under Francis I. and after him, they were held every three months. The monarch gave notice that he would hold one of these meetings, and appeared there at the time of assembling, accompanied by the cardinals, the princes of the blood, the constable, the Duke of Guise, many other dignified persons, and a strong escort. He took his place with a tranquil air, without appearing to have any sinister intention. He said, that he understood there were in the par-

Assembling of the  
mercuriales.

1559. liament various opinions on the subject of religion; that he was come himself that he might investigate the matter; and that every one might state his opinion with the most perfect freedom.

Opinions  
of the  
members.

Some thought it advisable to allow six months to the offenders, that they might receive instruction, and return from their errors. Others said they were improperly called heretics, since they had neither been judged nor condemned; and that it would have been proper to have convoked a general council on the subject. Du Faur and Du Bourg maintained this opinion very warmly, and inveighed against the Catholic church, its rites, and its ministers. The presidents Seguier and De Harlai endeavoured to prove that the decrees of the court, which sometimes saved the accused, were not contrary to its edicts, of which they were the interpreters. The president De Thou asserted, that those who censured the decrees of the court ought to be punished, because nothing there was to be examined: the president Baillet, on the contrary, argued that it was very proper to revise and reform controversial decrees, where they admitted of a reason for so doing: one Minart was for executing the laws against heretics with the utmost rigour; and in support of this opinion he cited Philip as an example worthy of imitation, who in one single day had

six hundred heretics burnt in his presence, and he greatly extolled the barbarous executions which had been renewed against them at different times. 1559.

The king heard all these speeches with perfect composure. He afterwards retired with his principal counsellors into an adjoining chamber, and left the rest to continue their sitting; he then ordered the keeper of the register to bring him the list of the members, examined the opinions which they had already written, re-entered the hall, and said, that it was indeed too true, and what he had not ventured till then to believe, that there were in the parliament a great number of heretics; that he should be justified in punishing the whole body for having cherished them in its bosom, but that he would not confound the innocent with the guilty. The constable then ascended the throne to receive the king's orders, descended, and seized Du Faur and Du Bourg, while they were sitting, and committed them to the custody of Montgommeri, the captain of the guards. Chavigni, another captain, received orders to go and arrest six counsellors in their houses: four were taken, and the other two escaped. The next day the parliament prosecuted Jacques Spifame, Bishop of Nevers, who had married and retired to Geneva. He was degraded, and the trial of the prisoners commenced.

1559.  
First Na-  
tional  
synod.

The king's  
rage.

While these proceedings were transacting, the ministers and deputies of the churches of the Isle of France, of Normandy, of Orleans, of l'Aunis, and of Poitou, held their first national synod in the fauxbourg St. Germain; and though it lasted four days, the secret was kept inviolate. Having reduced the constitutions for maintaining union and discipline in their dispersed societies to forty articles, they occupied themselves with the fate of the prisoners, and had recourse to the intercession of the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had interested themselves two years before, in behalf of some of their number, who had been arrested in consequence of a scuffle with some Catholics in the Rue St. Jacques: but the king having now no interest to serve, firmly resisted their intercessions. He was even greatly incensed at his subjects daring to hold settled assemblies in his capital without his orders, and especially at their having recourse to the protection of foreign princes, to force him, if possible, to pardon his refractory subjects. He ordered that the prosecution should be rigorously followed up; and swore in his rage, that he himself would see them expire in the flames. But it pleased God to frustrate his malignant expectations by an extraordinary occurrence which took place at this critical moment. Madame Claude, the king's sister, had just married the Duke of Savoy, and there were

great rejoicings for the union. Henry was very <sup>1559.</sup> adroit, and one of the finest men in the kingdom under arms, in consequence of which his favourite amusement was tilting. For two days he had entered the lists, and proved victorious against all his opponents; but on the third and last day, full of confidence and flushed with success, he rushed hastily upon Montgomeri, the captain of his guard, who was waiting his attack, and only gave himself time to let down his visor, without properly fastening it. Montgomeri broke his lance against a part of the king's armour. The shock raised the visor, and the captain, unable to arrest the progress of his arm, struck the king so violently in the right eye, that at one thrust the lance penetrated to the back of his head. The monarch staggered and fell; the wound was mortal. He lived only fifteen days afterwards, and continued in a perpetual lethargy.

He is mortally wounded at a tournament.

His death.

As for the oppressed reformed, they were still exposed to great danger. France was just at the beginning of those civil wars which continued for forty years, and which were nearly connected with the cause of religion; not that religion had any immediate concern in them, but the conflicting parties found it political to enlist it in their service. Three families struggled for the right of succession to the crown. The family of the Capets were divided into two

FRANCIS. Origin of the civil wars.



1559. branches; that of Valois, then in possession of the throne, and that of Bourbon, to whom belonged the reversion of it. The family of the Guises, Dukes of Lorraine, also laid a claim by right of marriage. As the reformed had now obtained many friends among persons of influence, their weight thrown into the scale was deemed of great importance, and each party aimed to procure it; but the Bourbons prevailed, as they had long proved that they were decidedly attached to the persecuted cause.

The reformed join the Bourbons.

Execution of Du Bourg.

The trials of the accused counsellors were continued after the decease of the king, but Du Bourg only suffered death; he was condemned to be hung and burnt, and met his punishment with the greatest fortitude. The others were subjected to some trifling penalties, and then set at liberty.

Mutual recriminations of the Guises and the Calvinists.

Religion was now mixed with all public affairs. The Calvinists complained loudly of the intolerance of the Guises, and the Guises complained of the innovations of the Calvinists. The politicians who espoused the cause of the Bourbon party, never failed to dwell upon the oppressions of the reformed, to draw forth their energies; and the friends of the Guises added to their apologies many eulogiums upon their zeal, to inflame the Catholics in their favour. Thus the cause was confounded with the persons. When the Catholics saw the Guises attacked,

they thought that it originated only in a hatred 1550.  
to their religion; and for the same reason the Calvinists saw in the opponents of the Bourbons, men who would risk all to maintain persecution.

Every thing tended to exasperate the parties against each other. The Catholics circulated some of the most atrocious calumnies against the Calvinists: they accused them of designing to set fire to Paris, to force the prisons, and to excite a revolt, with the aid of the criminals who were confined there. The Calvinists bitterly complained of these reports, as their sole object was to render them odious in the eyes of the nation, and started with horror from such gross charges. Guise pursued his point, and used every means in his power to encourage the people to fanaticism: he permitted the Catholics to assemble in the streets, and to sing anthems before little images of the Virgin. The passengers were invited to join in these devotions, and if they refused, they were maltreated, and could obtain no redress.

Francis II. the young king, was in his minority, and had wholly submitted his judgment to his uncles, the Guises; the Cardinal Lorraine was minister of the finances, and the Duke of Guise assumed the command of the troops. Admiral Coligni's conspiracy against the Guises. 1560.  
Coligni, who had fallen out with the Guises, resolved to exert his influence to destroy their authority, and with his two brothers, the one a colonel and the other a cardinal, secured the

1560. Prince of Condé in his interest, and obtained one Renaudie, a courageous man, of a respectable family, as the principal agent in the plan. Renaudie was well known among the Calvinists, and undertook to secure their aid. The purposed plan was to seize the persons of the king's ministers, and to obtain by violence that access to the young king which they were not allowed to enjoy by legal measures. A consultation of theologians and German civilians was held upon the subject, and the measure was deemed lawful. There were then reckoned to be two millions of the reformed in France, and they all cordially united in the enterprize. But one false brother divulged the whole of the plan : Renaudie was slain, and his body hung on a gibbet ; the armies of the revolters were beaten in detail, and all that were taken were treated with the greatest cruelty. At Amboise, the scene of action, the blood ran down the streets from the number that were beheaded, and there were not executioners enough to perform the murderous office. Without trial, without previous judgment, multitudes were cast into the river Loire, bound hand and foot, and it was for several days covered with dead bodies. Some of the chiefs in this business were afterwards tried and executed, and this calamitous affair ended. All historians, however, agree that it was more of a political than of a religious nature ; but it was convenient

Its failure.

Massacre  
at Am-  
boise.

to engage the reformed in the contest, who were justly indignant at the insolence of the Guises, and discontented with the oppressions under which they laboured. Indeed, in the writings which they circulated at the beginning of the unhappy conflict, they avowed that they had not taken up arms on account of religion, but simply to repress the tyranny of the Guises, and to procure the assemblies of the states, where they hoped that the edicts against themselves would be moderated. Guise pretended that this was a conspiracy against the king, and in consequence of his success in effecting its destruction, he obtained the office of lieutenant-general of the forces, and the title of *preserver of the country*. 1560.

Under the Guises the reformed were severely persecuted in various places; and where their churches flourished, they were subjected to the most vexatious inquiries: their loyalty and obedience were called in question; and though they were willing to give the most positive assurances of their fidelity, a state of prosperity was a signal for dispersion. The reformed persecuted by the Guises.

In spite of these vexations, numbers of churches continued to be formed; and at this time was founded the since celebrated church of Montauban. Church founded at Montauban.

The Duke of Guise used all his influence at this juncture to establish an inquisition in France; Attempt to establish an inquisition.

1560. but notwithstanding his deep intrigues, he failed in his efforts.

**CHARLES IX.**

The queen-regent favours the reformed.

Charles IX. brother of the late king, now ascended the throne in his eleventh year. The Guises lost their influence, and Catharine de Medicis, the king's mother, having obtained the regency, that she might increase her strength against the party of the late ministers, evinced a great partiality to the cause of the Protestants. An edict was published, that no person should molest the Protestants, that the imprisoned should be released, and the exiled called home.

1561. A conference between the two parties was held at Poissy, in which the celebrated Beza took a part, and employed his wit and learning with great effect in favour of the Reformation.

Intrigues of the Guises.

Defection of the king of Navarre.

The conclusion of the former reign threatened the extinction of the Protestant cause; for such was the spirit of the Guises, that nothing less would have satisfied them; but now it flourished with renewed vigour, and even threatened in return the total ruin of Popery in France. But the intrigues of the Guises produced another serious injury. They caballed with the Pope and the King of Spain, and procured, through their means, the defection of the King of Navarre. Hitherto he had been a sturdy champion in the Protestant cause, but for an enlargement of his territories he renounced his faith, and left the Protestants

to struggle by themselves. The queen, however, 1561.  
who had before been very indifferent to religion,  
warmly espoused their cause. "*Had I the king-  
doms in my hands,*" said she, "*I would throw  
them into the sea, rather than defile my conscience  
by going to mass.*"

At this time the queen-regent even ven-  
tured to write to the Pope in vindication of the  
moral character of the reformed, and suggested  
some alterations in worship to meet their views.  
"What danger could there be," said she, "in  
removing the images from the churches, and in  
abolishing some useless forms in the administra-  
tion of the Sacraments? It would also be a  
great advantage to grant the communion in  
both ways to the faithful, to abolish low mass,  
and to permit divine service to be performed in  
the vulgar tongue."

The queen-  
regent in-  
tercedes  
with the  
Pope.

The Protestants now began to acquire cou-  
rage. Some distinguished men had preaching at  
their houses in Paris, and a marriage in a noble  
family was publicly solemnized by the cele-  
brated Beza at the residence of the Queen of  
Navarre. The nobility openly patronized the  
reformed clergy, and sanctioned their meetings  
without the walls of Paris, where they preached in  
the open air. On these occasions there were some-  
times forty thousand people assembled, divided  
into three companies; the women in the middle,  
surrounded by men on foot, and the latter by

The Pro-  
testants ac-  
quire cou-  
rage.

Large  
meetings  
held for  
worship at  
Paris.

1561. men on horseback; and, during the sermon, the Governor of Paris placed soldiers to guard the avenues, and to prevent disturbances. A spirit of tolerance also began to prevail in other parts, and in many places the Reformed and the Catholics lived in such friendship together that they alternately worshipped under the same roof.

Tumult at  
Paris.

If we may believe the writer of "The Memoirs of the League," this harmony was disturbed at Paris in the course of this year; for he asserts; that a violent tumult occurred on St. Stephen's day, of which he accuses the Calvinists. He says, that as parties ran high, the Calvinists flew to arms to insult the Catholics, who were at vespers in the church dedicated to that saint, on account of the noise of the bells, which had interrupted their preaching in a neighbouring house called the Patriarch; that they committed extreme disorders in the church, and profaned and broke to pieces its altars and holy images; but that they were punished for their insolence and temerity; for the citizens, after the attempt, killed many of them whom they found with arms in their hands, and great disorders and even murders were the result of these proceedings. This was probably the fact, but it is difficult at so distant a period to ascertain the cause.

1562.  
Retire-  
ment of the  
Guises.

The Guises soon retired in disgust, and the queen-regent granted a new edict in favour of

the Protestants; but to make it valid, it was necessary to obtain the sanction of parliament. The Chancellor de l'Hôpital found this a difficult matter, and was obliged to use all his influence to procure it. In demanding the deliberations of parliament upon the subject, he argued: "*The object of your deliberations must depend upon this one point;—is it advantageous to the kingdom in the present circumstances, to permit or to forbid the assembling of the Calvinists? It is not necessary to make profound researches in religion, in order to come to a decision. Even supposing the religion of the Calvinists to be bad, is that a reason for proscribing all those who profess it? Can we not be good subjects of the king without being Catholics, or even Christians? Do not then go and weary yourselves by inquiring which of the two is the better religion. We come here not to establish a faith, but to rule the state.*"

The edict was at length passed, but with very great reluctance, and with a provisional clause, till the decision of a general council.

Edict in  
favour of  
the Cal-  
vinists.

The enemies of the Protestants had no reason to complain, for their privileges were still exceedingly limited. They were allowed to assemble for the exercise of their religion in all parts of the kingdom, except in Paris and in the walled cities; to enjoy the protection of the magistrates, if they were menaced with injury



1562.  
Restrictions.

or interruption; and to receive voluntary subscriptions. But it was also enacted, that they should restore the churches which they had usurped, and the images and relics which in some instances they had taken away; and should quietly submit to the ecclesiastical dues, and other church revenues;—that they should keep the fast days, the degrees of consanguinity in marriage, and the exterior discipline of the Catholic church;—that they should not, in sermons, books, or conversation, use any invective against the mass, or against any ceremonies of the Catholic church;—that they should hold no synods nor consistories without permission of the court;—that they should not preach as itinerants, nor move from their fixed stations: and it was enjoined, that they should receive the magistrates with respect who might visit their places of worship, to see if every thing was orderly; and not suffer any strangers to join with them, lest they should receive any malefactors.

Dissatisfaction of the Catholics.

Yet such was the intolerant spirit of the times, that the grant of these restricted privileges gave great dissatisfaction, and produced only a deceitful calm, the presage of the most awful tempests. The Protestants rejoiced that they had obtained the public exercise of their religion, and the chiefs of the party sent circular letters every where, entreating the strictest conformity to the terms on which they were allowed this privilege.

The Catholics, on the contrary, maintained a mournful silence, while their sombre looks spoke daggers. 1562.

The Pope's legate, always the foremost in intolerance, was of course highly indignant that any set of men should be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. In a spirit worthy of his master, he therefore loudly remonstrated against these indulgences; but the queen-regent received his remonstrances with perfect indifference. He was not, however, discouraged by these affronts; but, seconded by a suitable coadjutor, the ambassador of Spain, he declaimed on all occasions against the edict, blamed the education of the king, distributed money, and lavished caresses; and even, though sure of a refusal, demanded the disgrace of those men in power who were friendly to the Protestant cause. When the queen excused herself, by representing the strength of the Calvinists, the ambassador offered troops to make war against them. He also wished that a formulary of faith should be drawn up for signatures, that the heretics might be distinguished, and a separation wall erected between them and the Catholics. Remonstrances of the Pope's legate.

During this time the intolerant Catholics were watching the opportunity to take vengeance. Many companies of soldiers, composed of the dregs of the people, were sent from Paris

1562. to Meaux, at which place the Protestants were numerous; and were allowed to indulge themselves in every kind of excess; on account of which, the greater part of the reformed abandoned the town, and retired to other places. Nothing was respected by this unbridled horde. Guillien Rose, a rich labourer of Vincelles, near Meaux, was seized by some soldiers and thrown into the river Marne, where he was drowned, after he had paid one hundred and sixty crowns for his ransom, which was the sum they had demanded of him. The reformed of Montauban likewise suffered severely from a riotous mob; and at the same time there was an insurrection at Toulouse. Jean Cabrol, one of the consuls, having endeavoured to appease the tumult at the former place, fell a victim to his zeal; he was pierced through and through, and left dead upon the spot. As to the ministers, one of them escaped; the other, Pierre du Pierrier, was killed, and afterwards thrown into a well.

Massacre  
at Vassy.

The Duke of Guise was also invited by his party to Paris. He speedily obeyed the invitation, and with a numerous suite set out on his march. As he passed by Vassy, a small town on the frontier of Champagne, some of his retinue fell in with some Protestants who were worshipping in a barn, and picked a quarrel with them; the Duke joined in the affair, and after proceeding from words to blows, he left

two hundred of his unhappy victims wounded, and sixty more dead upon the spot. 1562.

This horrible affair resounded through all France; but Guise represented the Protestants as the first aggressors. These made loud complaints, and the queen-regent treated them with attention; but the King of Navarre, on being applied to, called them factious heretics; for the Catholics had kindly enlarged his kingdom, and altered his opinions. It was then that Beza made him that spirited answer: *I plead for a religion that knows better how to bear injuries than to repel them; but remember, Sire, it is an anvil which has already worn out many hammers.* Beza's spirited reply to the king of Navarre.

Guise shortly after entered Paris in triumph, and the Queen, alarmed, fled with her son, and sent to the Prince of Condé to implore him to come to her aid with all the Protestants he could procure to join his standard; but before he could render her any service, she was forced to give up herself and son to the furious Guise, who had a large body in his favour, and particularly among the Parisians, who were deeply prejudiced against the reformed religion. The Guises now triumphed, and Montmorenci, the constable of France, at the head of his troops, ranged in order of battle, as if for a dangerous expedition, went into the suburbs of Paris, attacked the places of worship, forced open the doors, broke in pieces the pulpits and the Guise's entry into Paris. Flight and capture of the queen and her son. Destruction of Protestant places of worship near Paris.

1562. benches, and burnt them, and re-entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people, who were delighted at this exploit. This display of heroism was, however, a subject of ridicule among the wits, who, in consequence, nick-named the constable *Captain Burn-bench*.

In the mean time Condé issued a proclamation, in which he complained strongly against the Guises; especially for trying to kindle the flame of discord, by depriving the Protestants of the free exercise of their religion, which had been granted to them by the edict of January. Guise made various excuses in reply, and insisted that the edict exempted Paris and the court, where the preachers could not be permitted to officiate. The ostensible reason, however, assigned by Condé for taking up arms, was the deliverance of the king, who, he said, was a prisoner by his own subjects, which Guise as flatly contradicted.

After several useless negotiations, in which Condé demanded the liberation of the king's person, the removal of the Guises from power, and the fulfilment of the last edict in favour of the Protestants, which the other party as obstinately refused, there was no alternative but vigorous war. The royalists, as they termed themselves, obtained auxiliary troops from Germany and Switzerland, which were at the disposal of the best bidder, and a considerable force

from Spain. The reformed party had recourse to England, and Queen Elizabeth sent a large body of troops to take possession of Havre de Grace.

1562.  
War.

Historians speak differently of the character of the Protestant army. Beza, and the writers of that denomination, boast of its fine discipline. They assert that neither gaming, nor immodest women, nor depredators, could be found there; that oaths were severely prohibited; that instead of songs, the soldiers chaunted psalms; that prayer was offered up every morning and evening at regular hours; and that, during the course of the day, the ministers divided the army into separate congregations, and delivered to them pious discourses and exhortations. These facts are, indeed, admitted by writers on the opposite side, who assert, notwithstanding, that by such means the army was converted into a set of furious enthusiasts, and inspired with a religious frenzy, which induced it to practise every kind of cruelty in support of its religion. But they allow, at the same time, that the atrocities of war were equally committed on the other side. The statements of each party may be easily reconciled. In such an army there were doubtless men of all descriptions, who had enlisted from various motives; some from the purest principles of self-defence, and others merely as marauders, encouraged by the hopes of plunder.

Character  
of the Pro-  
testant  
army.

It would be tedious, and foreign to the

D

1562. writer's design, to enter into all the details of this conflict. For a whole year the country suffered all the barbarities of civil war; during which time the King of Navarre was killed at the siege of Rouen, the Duke of Guise was shot by a gentleman at the siege of Orleans, Condé was made prisoner by the royalists, and Montmorenci, the constable of France, by the Protestants. A peace was at length concluded, by the terms of which the privileges of the Protestants were more limited than before, although it was purchased with the lives of fifty thousand men.
1563. The reformed had been permitted by a former edict to assemble for the exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom, on condition that they did not enter into the cities. By an edict which was now published, called the edict of Amboise, they were allowed to worship only in those towns of which they had kept possession. It limited also the former general permission to preach throughout the country, to the territories of Protestant gentlemen, and to those houses of the nobles, which were not in towns or boroughs subject to the controul of some Catholic lord. To compensate for these restrictions, they were allowed a town in each bailiwick, immediately under the jurisdiction of the parliament, where they might freely practise their religion.

Deaths of  
the King  
of Navarre  
and the  
Duke of  
Guise.

Peace con-  
cluded.

Edict of  
Amboise.

Even these terms displeased the bigotted Catholics, and remonstrances were obliged to be made to the government to obtain their fulfilment. Montmorenci, who had been set at liberty by the peace, went so far as to form a plot against the Protestants in the capital, and the period was fixed by the conspirators for falling upon their victims, and demolishing their habitations. Three hundred were proscribed, and their death-warrant was signed by the hand of the constable. The queen had timely notice of the nefarious plan, and hastened to Paris with the king, whose presence prevented the horrors which must have resulted from its execution. Montmorenci retired from the city, some of the principal agents in the conspiracy were hung up at their own windows without trial, and the rest saved themselves by flight. But this fire was not extinguished; it continued to burn under the ashes, and in the end produced a most tremendous conflagration.

1563.  
Montmorenci's plot against the Protestants.

Charles now began to discover an inclination to join in persecuting the Protestants; and the decree of Roussillon was announced, in which the king declared, that the liberty given to Protestant gentlemen to have public preaching on their estates, should not extend beyond their domestics and vassals, and that no collections should be made, even for the support of the ministers. Condé remonstrated with the king,

1564.  
Charles persecutes the Protestants.



1564. who replied by asking him what authority he possessed, that a sovereign should be subject to his pleasure.

Death of  
Calvin.

On the 27th of May in this year Calvin, the renowned reformer, died. He was born in 1509. The immense and continual labour to which he had been exposed, had greatly enfeebled his constitution, and wasted his strength; and he was attacked by severe head-aches, the asthma, the gout, and other violent complaints. He scarcely ever slept. Affairs public and private, ecclesiastical and political, all occupied his attention in perpetual succession, and often at the same time. He also held a very extensive correspondence, and was consulted by all the reformed churches of Europe, as well as by princes and persons of the highest distinction, who had embraced the Protestant faith. He died at Geneva. His whole treasure was 120 crowns of gold, which he bequeathed to his brother, Antoine Calvin. Some accounts augment the sum to 300 crowns, but their authority rests on no solid foundation.

1565. Among many distinguished personages now in the court of Charles, who was at this time in company with the queen, making the tour of the kingdom, was the Prince of Bearn, son of the Queen of Navarre, who was afterwards the celebrated Henry IV. His mother had used every means to bias his mind in favour of the Protestants, and not without success. He was now young, but

First years  
of Henry  
IV.

very acute; and began to make his remarks on what was passing in the court on the subject of religion. The king remained some time at Bayonne, and it was observed that the queen had frequent interviews with the Duke of Alva, whose bloody deeds afterwards made him the terror of the Protestants in the Low Countries. One of these interviews took place in the presence of Henry, and he understood that the substance of the conversation turned upon the best means of destroying the Protestants. The queen wished to spare the leaders: "*Ten thousand frogs,*" answered Alva, "*are not worth the head of one salmon.*" Catharine understood his meaning. 1565.

On his route, Charles went to Nerac, in Gascony, the usual residence of the Queen of Navarre; where, partly by her consent, and partly by force, he re-established the Catholic religion in the country, from which that princess had withheld her support. The queen accompanied him to the centre of the kingdom; and during their journey, Charles loaded her and her son with marks of friendship; but he pointed her with indignation to the dilapidated monasteries, the ruined churches, the broken crosses, the mutilated statues of the saints, the dismantled towns, and the recently extinguished remains of the fires which had been kindled during the last war. The queen, attached as much to the cause of the reformed as to life itself, felt these

Charles's  
visit to  
Navarre.

1565. remarks, but answered nothing; and ever after mistrusted the king and his mother.

1566-7. The disposition of Charles gradually unfolded itself, and his antipathy to the Protestants became every day more apparent. Confident in their means of defence, of which indeed they were not neglectful, they conducted themselves perhaps with more spirit than prudence. Charles therefore had some pretext for considering them as assuming too much the character of dictators, and did not scruple on several occasions to intimate the necessity of extirpating them, or driving them from the kingdom; nor could all the care of the queen his mother, prevent him from frequently breaking out in the most violent sallies against them.

Roziere's  
Book.

At the commencement of the year 1567, a publication made its appearance, which was ascribed to a minister named Roziere, in which the infamous sentiment was propagated, *that it was allowable to kill a king and a queen who resisted the Reformation*. As there are always rash enthusiasts in every cause of public dispute, the author of this work might have been one of the reformed; but from the subtilty of Catharine's character, and the part which she afterwards acted, it is not improbable that this and similar expedients were employed by herself and her partizans, to make the Protestants odious, and to justify the cruelties which the court were

then devising against them. About this time also the queen, going from her chamber to mass, trod upon a letter, in which there was found an intimation, that if she did not grant the free exercise of the reformed religion, she would be served like the Duke of Guise. The queen, in consequence, always went to mass by some secret passages; but this too might be deemed requisite to carry on her designs. 1567.

The court had long been contriving the complete ruin of the Protestants, and every day their rights were infringed upon by new edicts; so that the Hugonots lost more by these edicts in a time of peace, than they had lost by force during the war. To effect their extermination, it was found necessary to raise an army; but this could not be done without exciting the attention and alarm of the Protestant party. An event, however, at length occurred, favourable to the design. The King of Spain was about to march a large army into the Low Countries, commanded by the Duke of Alva; and under pretence of guarding the kingdom against any surprisal from these troops, both Catholic and Protestant counsellors were convened, who resolved unanimously to protect it. The Catholic troops were raised, and foreign auxiliaries procured, but Charles refused the assistance of the Protestants. It was now resolved to seize the Prince of Condé, and imprison him for life, Charles raises an army.

1567. to put to death the Admiral Coligni, his faithful colleague, to revoke the edict of peace, and to forbid the exercise of the reformed religion throughout the whole kingdom. These plans, before they were quite ripe, were discovered by Condé, and with the most astonishing promptitude he raised a large army, which threw the court into alarm, while they were contriving their schemes as they thought in perfect security.

Negotiations were again set on foot, and once more the Prince demanded for the reformed the free exercise of their religion; but Charles replied, that he never intended that his decrees in favour of the Protestants should be more than temporary, and that he was resolved to have but one religion in the country.

Both parties now prepared for the awful conflict with determined resolution; and as the reformed had nothing to hope from the court, they flocked in immense numbers to the standard of Condé.

1568. A battle was at last fought in the plain of St. Denys, before Paris, in which, though the constable Montmorenci fell, the royalists claimed the victory. But the reformed were by no means vanquished. They retreated upon their reinforcements, and having been joined by some hireling troops of Casimer, the Prince Palatine, they found themselves in sufficient force to re-

Battle of  
St. Denys.

gociate for a second peace, in which they once more obtained the promise of full toleration. 1568.  
Second  
peace.

The calm that succeeded was soon followed by the presages of another tempest. The Catholics were more enraged than ever. The chancellor, and all the moderate men, were dismissed from the court. The pulpits resounded with invectives against the sectaries, with seditious reflections on the peace, and with exhortations to break it. The ministers boldly advanced these abominable maxims—that faith must not be kept with heretics; and that the massacre of them is a just, pious, and necessary act. The fruits of these discourses were insurrections against the Protestants, and assassinations of them, for which no redress could be obtained. Woe to those in Paris or in the provinces, who had ever been connected with the Protestant chiefs! The poignard, the poison, the slow punishment of the prison, destroyed both them and the fear of the resistance they might otherwise have made. In three months, as some writers assert, more than ten thousand persons perished by these execrable means; others lessen the number. The reformed, who had made every sacrifice for peace, lamented their pliancy, and said, with sighs: “*We have done foolishly; let us not then think it strange if we drink the dregs of our folly: but we doubt that they will prove very bitter.*” They remonstrated Furious  
persecu-  
tion.

1568. against these proceedings; and manifestoes, complaints, and apologies, succeeded each other with prodigious rapidity. In these the Cardinal Lorraine was marked out as their principal enemy, but the king and the queen were not treated with much respect.

War renewed.

War was renewed once more. It began by the endeavour of the court to surprize all the Protestant leaders, yet notwithstanding they almost miraculously escaped, and Condé and the queen of Navarre, with her son, shut themselves up in Rochelle, while men were raising on both sides with all possible expedition.

Edicts against the Protestants.

Exasperated to the last degree, Charles issued edict upon edict against the Protestants: he prohibited them, under very severe penalties, from assembling together; he entirely revoked the edict of 1562, which at different times had caused so much dispute; he forbid the exercise of any other religion than the Catholic, on pain of death; he ordered all those to be dismissed from public employments who professed the Protestant faith; and the parliament resolved that no person should in future be raised to the authority of a magistrate, unless he were a Catholic. To enforce these decrees, a powerful army was levied, and entrusted to the command of the Duke d'Anjou, the king's brother.

Reprisals on both sides.

No exhortations were requisite to bring the Protestants into the field. The cruelties com-

mitted against them were sufficient incitements; 1568.  
 and as they marched in large bodies to join the grand army, they made severe reprisals on their enemies, and especially on the cardinals, bishops, priests, and monks, whom they put to the sword without mercy. The Catholics were not sparing of the sword on their side, and executed numbers of prisoners.

Condé, with a fine army, and fresh succours, 1569.  
 found himself capable of facing his opponents; but, after various manœuvres, he fell heroically fighting at the battle of Jarnac, and terminated his career, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. Death of Condé.

The king's party now rejoiced in the prospect of the complete overthrow of the Protestants; but the Queen of Navarre hastened to the army, supporting on one arm her son Henry the Duke of Bearn, and on the other the son of the deceased prince, both about sixteen years of age; and, approaching the soldiers, she addressed them in the most impressive manner. "Friends," said she, "we weep for a prince who, with equal fidelity and courage, has supported till death that cause which he had resolved to espouse; but our tears would be a disgrace to his memory, were we not to follow his example, and firmly to resolve to die for our faith. The good cause has not perished with Condé; and his misfortune ought not to cast men attached to their religion into despair. God watches over his own. He gave Heroic conduct of the Queen of Navarre.



1569. companions in arms to support the Prince during his life, and he has left brave captains to us, who are capable of repairing the loss which we have sustained by his death. I offer you the young Prince of Bearn, my son; I trust to you Henry, the son of the prince who excites our regrets. May heaven grant that they may prove themselves worthy heirs of the valour of their ancestors, and that the sight of these tender pledges may be the means of firmly uniting you in support of the cause which you defend!"

Henry's  
oath.

The army answered with shouts of joy, which were only interrupted by the Prince of Bearn, who, advancing with a warlike air, said: "*I swear to defend religion, and to persevere in the common cause till death or victory shall have granted us all the liberty which we desire.*" The young Condé gave his assent, and the Prince of Bearn was declared generalissimo, though Coligni had the ostensible command.

Third  
peace.

1570. After a number of sieges, victories, and defeats on both sides, the armies were equally weary of the contest, and again a peace was concluded, on terms very favourable to the Protestants. Besides a general amnesty, and the free exercise of their religion, excepting at court, their confiscated property was to be restored: they were to be admitted into all universities, schools, hospitals, and public offices, royal, seignioral, and corporate: they were to

challenge six of the judges in the parliaments, and to retain four walled towns for two years, as garrisons for their protection; and finally, to make the peace lasting, a match was proposed between Henry of Navarre and Manguerite de Valois, the king's sister. 1570.

All this was treacherous. Charles, though but twenty-two years of age, was well versed in the art of dissimulation. He changed his deportment towards the Protestants, shewed them every degree of kindness, made them his counsellors, proposed to them advantageous marriages, and so completely gained their confidence as to obtain the restitution of the places of security before the time arrived which had been agreed on for their surrender. These conciliatory measures were but a feint employed to put the reformed off their guard, to lead them to expose their real strength, and to render them unsuspecting of the dagger which was shortly to be plunged into their bosoms. Thus for two years the mind of the barbarous Charles was calmly meditating the massacre of seventy thousand of his subjects. Charles's treachery. 1571.

Subsequent events justify these conclusions respecting the odious monarch, though some historians endeavour to apologize for the atrocities which he afterwards committed, or at least to extenuate them. They suggest that accidental circumstances led to their completion, or that if

1571. he had formed the design of murdering any of the Protestants, it was only a few of the leaders, and that the bloodshed extended much farther than he wished. Some Italian writers, however, who are deemed worthy of equal credit, contradict all these apologies, by stating a remarkable conversation which they assert to have taken place between Charles and the Pope's legate, who was sent to remonstrate against the union of his sister with a Hugonot Prince.—“*Monsieur Cardinal*,” said the monarch, somewhat embarrassed, “*would to God that I could tell you every thing! You will know soon, as well as the Sovereign Pontiff, that there is nothing more convenient than this marriage, to confirm religion in France, and to EXTERMINATE ITS ENEMIES. Yes,*” added he, affectionately squeezing his hand, “*believe me on my word: yet a little while, and the Holy Father himself will be obliged to praise my designs, my piety, and my ardour for religion.*” In confirmation of his good-will, he would have slipped a gold ring upon the cardinal's finger; but the prelate thanked him, and expressed his reliance on the word of the king.

Those historians who attempt to vindicate Charles, say that the Italian writers have endeavoured to throw all the blame upon his shoulders, to clear the other authors of this transaction. Be that as it may, it is evident that the king was implicated in it—that he took

no small share in the plot which we are about to develope—that it could not have been executed without his will—and that he stained his hands as deeply in innocent blood as the vilest assassin engaged in that affair. His name is a disgrace in the list of kings, and will probably stand at the head of royal barbarians to the end of time. 1571.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that the intrigues of the Queen Catharine finally effected this horrible business, which remorse of conscience would perhaps have prevented Charles from fully executing, and that she had likewise involved the Duke d'Anjou in the same guilt, who was rather unwilling to share in it, at least to so great an extent. Indeed, the two youths trembled with horror at the moment fixed for the sanguinary transaction, and it is said that they sent a message to stop the mischief at the first signal of destruction, but it was too late. Guilt of the king's mother.

The Queen of Navarre was the first victim of those base schemes which were now projected. She arrived at the court in the month of May, and on the 9th of June following she was a corpse. It was strongly suspected, and not without reason, that her death was effected by poison, though no direct proofs of the fact were discoverable. Death of the Queen of Navarre. 1572.

The loss of this queen could not but be sensibly felt by the Protestants, for she had been Her character.

1572.

the life of their cause. In the midst of her pleasures, to which she was passionately devoted, and though in the prime of life, she became a reformed character, and maintained a religious deportment which rendered her the idol of her party. She was strict in her discipline, orderly in her domestic regulations, firm in misfortunes, zealous, and liberal; and under her roof the persecuted ministers of religion ever found an asylum. She abhorred inconsistency of character in those who professed the reformed religion, devoted all her property to its support, even her rings and jewels, and remained inflexibly attached to it till death. It was her favourite maxim, that *liberty of conscience ought to be preferred before honours, dignities, or life itself*. The New Testament, the catechism, and the liturgy of Geneva, were printed at Rochelle by her orders; and she abolished Popery, and established the Protestant faith in her dominions. But, if she allowed *liberty of conscience*, it must be presumed that Papists were at liberty to worship God as they pleased under her government, though Popery was no longer the religion of the state; for that sovereign can be no friend to real liberty of conscience, whose mind is made the infallible standard for the opinions of the whole nation.

Massacre  
of Bartho-  
lomew-  
day.

The first victim of black Bartholomew-day was the constable, Coligni: he had been fired

1572.

upon by an assassin, whom Catharine afterwards told the king she had procured for the purpose, and he was now suffering under his wounds. Fearing a repetition of the deed, he had entrusted his safety to Charles, who had pledged his word for his security, and sent some guards to his residence, under the pretence of affording him protection, but in reality with a design to prevent his escape. On the awful night in which the slaughter commenced, the commissioned murderers entered his chamber, and all at once vociferated, with a hellish fury, "*Death.*" The admiral, who had been alarmed at their noise as they approached, was prepared for the consequence, and was found in the act of committing his soul to God. A young man rushed upon him with his sword; "*respect my grey hairs,*" said Coligni; the assassin answered by burying the sword in his body. He fell weltering in his blood, and after these wretches had mangled his features by repeated strokes, he was thrown out of the window, where his body suffered every kind of indignity from the populace; even the Duke d'Angoulême, natural son of the queen, joined in trampling upon it, till, at the command of that wicked woman, the disfigured head was cut off, and sent as a present to the Roman Pontiff; a present doubtless not less grateful to the humane vicar of Christ upon

E

1579. earth, than the head of John the Baptist to the incestuous Herodias.

At a given hour by the palace clock, the universal havoc begun. The Protestants, assailed on every side, and alarmed by the affecting shrieks of their unhappy friends, endeavoured to escape through the streets, half awake and half naked, but soldiers were planted to meet them in all directions, and those who hastened to the palace for redress met with certain death. All were massacred without any distinction of age or sex; and the most horrible sounds rent the air, partly from the imprecations of the assassins, and partly from the groans of those that were expiring. The approach of the morning discovered the frightful scene; headless bodies were thrown from the windows, the coach-ways were blocked up with the dead and dying; and the streets were covered with corpses, which the murderers were dragging as fast as possible to the river. Most of the wretched sufferers, astonished and confused, had submitted like lambs to the slaughter; but some having protested with their dying breath against the violated faith of the king, expired exclaiming, *Great God, deliver the oppressed! just Judge, avenge this perfidy!*

The havoc proceeded with great fury, and most of the distinguished families of France were among the unfortunate multitudes of brave

1579.

chieftains who perished by the poignard. Instances of individual cruelty unparalleled in the annals of barbarism occurred on this gloomy occasion. Children that could scarcely use the dagger were taught to butcher the babe in the cradle. Tavannes, one of the court conspirators in this business, employed himself in encouraging the murderers:—" *Bleed away,*" said he, "*doctors say that bleeding is as good in the month of August as in May.*" The Duke of Guise, brother of the last of that name; the Duke d'Angoulême, and other dignified barbarians, walked the streets, and commanded, in the king's name, that *all the race of serpents should be exterminated*. At the palace windows appeared the king, amusing himself with shooting at the fugitives, and calling out to their pursuers, "*kill them, kill them;*" One wretch, named Crucé, a goldsmith, shewing his arm naked and bloody, boasted aloud, "*this arm has cut the throats of more than four hundred in a day!*"—Even the ladies of the court pleased themselves with surveying the dead bodies, and treating them with a ridicule and an indecency, the description of which would defile the narrative. How long exactly the massacre continued, it is difficult to say. Some historians mention three days, while others augment the number to seven; but this discrepance may be easily accounted



1572. for, by supposing the former to refer to the slaughter of Paris only, while the latter includes that of the Provinces.

To complete his treachery, and to extend the horrors of this transaction, Charles pretended that it was merely the consequence of an old quarrel between the family of the Guise's and that of the Admiral; and sent into the distant provinces to assure the reformed of his protection, while at the same time he was dispatching couriers to urge the governors of the different towns to a repetition of the same tragical scenes throughout the kingdom. Some would not execute these sanguinary orders, and by this means many precious lives were saved. The answer of the Viscount d'Orthe, commandant of Bayonne, deserves to be recorded.—“Sire,” said he, “*I have communicated the command of your majesty to your faithful subjects, and to the garrison; I can find among them only good citizens and brave soldiers, but no executioners; for this reason we humbly supplicate your majesty to employ our hands and our lives in effecting those things which we can accomplish; and though they may be the most hazardous, we will spill the last drop of our blood in the service.*” What was the reward which d'Orthe obtained from the court for this noble conduct? He was soon afterwards poisoned!!

The most horrible carnage now took place in the provinces, under the express sanction of the royal persecutor. The places in which it raged most furiously were Meaux, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, and Rouen; besides these several small towns, as well as private castles, were involved in the calamity, in which many of the opulent Protestants fell by the fury of an unrestrained populace. The dead bodies covered the country, and remained putrified and unburied; and many rivers were so infected with those that were cast into them, that it was considered dangerous for a long time to taste their fish, or drink their water. 1572.

Accounts differ respecting the amount of those who fell in this infamous transaction. Some say that five thousand perished at Paris only, while others reckon the victims in that city at double the number. But the lowest computation rated it throughout the kingdom at thirty thousand, while some Catholic historians acknowledge it to rise to as many more; and there are Protestant writers who do not scruple to state it at *one hundred thousand*.

This news was received at Rome with the most lively demonstrations of joy; the cannon roared, bon-fires blazed, solemn mass was performed, at which the Pope assisted, and the courier who communicated the welcome intelligence was handsomely rewarded. The name

1572. of this most holy father ought never to be forgotten,—it was Gregory XIII.

To crown his cruel exploit, Charles next sent for the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, to whom he proposed either *death, mass,* or the *bastile*. They both hesitated and delayed to answer for several days, but the alternative becoming unavoidable they at last yielded, and the young King of Navarre agreed to confirm the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in his states, and to prohibit the exercise of that of the reformed.

Many of the Protestants who escaped this dreadful persecution took refuge in England, Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries; but the greater number remained in France in those places of security which were nearest to their dwellings, particularly Montauban, Nîmes, and Sancerre. In the midst of their agitation, and while they scarcely knew what measures to adopt for their safety, the king once more passed an edict in their favour, on the 28th of October, in which all persons were forbidden to disturb them, their property was ordered to be restored, and they were allowed to enjoy protection. But who could place confidence in a monarch capable of such foul treachery as to pass an edict one day to lull the Protestants into security, and revoke it the next, that he might take them off their guard, and satiate his malignant

spirit? A few more such manoeuvres must have <sup>1572.</sup> utterly extirpated the reformed church in France.

A fourth civil war broke out, but it was <sup>Fourth War.</sup> confined to some solitary sieges. That of Rochelle was the principal. This town opposed nearly the whole force of France for seven months. Out of twenty-two thousand inhabitants, eighteen thousand died chiefly of famine. The besiegers also lost an immense number of men, by disease and battle: one hundred and thirty-two captains perished, and a correspondent proportion of regiments. But the Duke d'Anjou being chosen King of Poland at this time, and it being desirable that the fêtes on the occasion should not be disturbed by civil commotions, the <sup>Peace. 1773.</sup> besieged obtained a peace on honourable terms.

Shortly after the Duke d'Anjou had obtained the crown of Poland, Charles died, in the <sup>Wretched death of Charles IX.</sup> twenty-fifth year of his age. As his death was rather sudden in its appearance, some unfavourable suspicions have in consequence been thrown out against the queen-mother, who eagerly desired the crown for her beloved son Henry. But it is evident that his life was worn out with anxiety. Smitten with a mortal malady, he found himself wasting away in the flower of his age, and debarred those consolations which the most wretched enjoy, he was treated with indifference by his friends, agitated with plots in his court, alarmed by rebellions among his

1573. people, and tormented with every kind of perplexity.

“ Dieu, déployant sur lui sa vengeance sévère,  
 “ Marqua ce roi mourant du sceau de sa colère.”

His guilty conscience perpetually disturbed his rest; he thought he saw spectres, he started continually in his sleep from frightful dreams; his disordered imagination presented to him rivulets of blood, and heaps of dead bodies, and made him fancy that he heard doleful sounds and plaintive accents rending the air.

This marked alteration in his character closely followed the scenes of Bartholomew-day. No more gracious and benign, he became gloomy and wild; the impetuosity by which he was always distinguished was greatly augmented; he sighed continually, raised his eyes to heaven, and appeared to carry in his heart a leaven of melancholy, which mixed itself with every thing, and rendered life insupportable. Of all the actors in that deep and dreadful tragedy, in which his mother had taken the principal part, he alone evinced any symptoms of compunction, and notwithstanding his treachery and cruelty, we cannot avoid pitying the last end of a wretched youth, who, by the wiles of her that should have taught him the tender sentiments of humanity, became exposed to the execration of all the world, and was made a burthen to himself.

1574-6. Henry, who ascended the vacant throne,

found the country soon afterwards involved in a fifth civil war. The young Prince of Condé had escaped into Germany, and formed a league with some of the princes against the government of France. After a severe conflict, though less sanguinary than before, the reformed grew high in their demands, and required a share of the churches and dues of the Catholic clergy, with a perpetual guard for their protection of six hundred cavalry and three thousand infantry, to be maintained at the expence of the king. They were, however, soon silenced by the efforts of the queen-mother, who terminated the war, and allowed them to obtain but few additional privileges.

1574-6.  
HENRY III.  
Fifth War.

Peace.

About this time was formed the famous *league*, in which the Catholics of France took the cause of the church into their own hands, and elected the Duke of Guise to be their leader, investing him with powers equal to those of a sovereign. This plan alarmed the court, and Henry, to save his authority, disconcerted the leader, and appointed himself the head of the league.

1576.  
The  
league.

The leaguers demanded a new war against the Protestants; and Henry of Navarre, who had escaped from court, and had openly declared for them, once more became their champion, and a counter-league was formed for their defence, in which Sweden, Denmark, England, and the German Protestant states took part; but both

1577.  
Sixth War.

1577. parties being very unfit for the contest, peace was concluded by the famous edict of Poitiers, in which the king granted to the reformed the full exercise of the Protestant religion, all the privileges of citizens, including a right to every office and dignity, and nine strong places for their troops, on condition that they would pay the dues, restore the usurped churches, keep the holy days, and never insult the Catholics in their worship.

1580. Not long after a fresh war broke out with the King of Navarre, which shortly ended with a new treaty, in which a few additional privileges were granted to the reformed.

1585. Still restless at the success of the Protestant party the leaguers employed another effort to carry their measures against them. With money obtained from Spain they procured foreign auxiliaries, and under the pretence of securing the right of succession for the Cardinal Bourbon, instead of the King of Navarre, they secured some of the principal towns in the kingdom, and by the boldness of their enterprizes spread terror in the court itself. The king at first prepared to resist them, but he found himself too weak, and by the treaty of Nemours he agreed to unite his arms with theirs against the Protestants. To provoke the latter, Henry very reluctantly consented to prohibit the exercise of the reformed religion in his dominions, on pain

Treaty of  
Nemours.

of death, to deprive all Protestants of the offices 1565.  
 which they held under government, to banish  
 their ministers, and in short to annihilate all their  
 privileges. Thus he was reduced to the alterna-  
 tive of making peace with one party only for the  
 purpose of commencing war with the other.

A ninth war was consequently declared be- Ninth  
War.  
 tween Navarre and France. Sextus the Fifth  
 was then Pope; and as the armies of the Pro-  
 testants were every where victorious, his Holi-  
 ness was solicited to join in the conflict, who very  
 graciously issued a bull against the King of Na-  
 varre, and absolved all his subjects from alle-  
 giance to him as an heretic. The Protestants  
 warmly resented this bull, and caused a pro-  
 testation against it to be placarded on the doors  
 of the Vatican. They said that Sextus was a  
 liar in calling them heretics; that he himself  
 ought rather to be regarded as one; that they  
 could prove in council that *he was* one; that  
 they viewed him as being out of the pale of  
 the church, and antichrist; and that as such  
 they declared a deadly and irreconcilable war  
 against him, claiming for themselves the right  
 of punishing both him and his successors for  
 the insult offered to his royal majesty. They  
 also invited all Christian kings, princes, and  
 republics, to join with them in chastising the  
 insolence of the Pope.

It has been before intimated that the Duke 1567.



1587. of Guise and his party endeavoured to gain the hearts of the French people, that he might obtain the succession to the throne, as the King of Navarre, to whom it would by right descend, was not a Catholic. The duke now therefore used every means to incense the people against the Protestants. The execution of Mary Queen of Scots, which happened at this time in England, was magnified into a martyrdom for the sake of religion, and it was asserted that the Catholics in general were great sufferers in England, Germany, and the Low Countries. At this period was fought the battle of Courtras, in which the French commander, Joyeuse, was slain, and the Catholic army completely destroyed.

1588.  
Commo-  
tions at  
Paris.  
Deaths of  
Guise and  
Condé.

At the same time a civil war broke out at Paris, between Guise and the king, in which many lives were lost, and Guise himself was assassinated. Condé was also poisoned in his own family, and died universally regretted, both by friends and enemies, at the age of *thirty-five years*. His death was severely felt by the King of Navarre, who said, that in him he had lost his right arm. All these commotions were suspended by the death of Henry III. in his thirty-eighth year, who was killed by a friar; and having time to recommend his successor, earnestly entreated an union between the King of Navarre and his people, that it might terminate the awful conflicts to which the nation had so

1589.  
Henry III.  
assassinated.

long been a prey. The queen-mother died only a few months before her son. He was a weak man, and she was a wicked woman. 1500.

Henry IV. King of France and Navarre, HENRY IV. ascended the throne amidst the greatest difficulties. The leaguers, as they were still called, opposed him, and raised the Cardinal de Bourbon, his uncle, to the regal dignity, under the name of Charles X. The Pope and the King of Spain joined in this cabal, and levied considerable armies against him. Henry was wise and brave, and these qualities in the end secured to him the crown. The decision in his favour was chiefly effected by the battle of Ivri, in which Battle of Ivri. he discovered the most surprizing address and courage. Before the battle, Henry publicly offered up this prayer: "*O Lord, thou knowest my thoughts, and thou discernest the bottom of my heart. If my possession of the crown should prove beneficial to my people, favour my cause and protect my arms; if thy holy will should dispose of it in another way, O my God, take from me my life with my kingdom, and let me at least die in the sight of these brave warriors who expose themselves for my service.*" When he was asked at the close of the battle by what name it should be called, he replied, "It is the day of the Almighty, and to him alone belongs the glory." After this event there were many rebellious attempts made to favour the designs of the

1580. leaguers, but all in vain; yet his majesty could not gain his capital. During four years perpetual plots were formed against him, but they were as perpetually defeated. The king, troubled by foreign and domestic enemies, from prudential motives, as well as from principles of gratitude, was careful to secure the liberties of the Protestants, and advanced by slow steps several measures in their favour.

1593. But what could a Protestant king do with Catholic subjects? He must renounce either his conscience or his crown. Henry, alas, chose to do the former, and went through the degrading rites of a relapsed heretic to be admitted into the Catholic communion. Robinson observes upon this event, "Every man may rejoice, that his virtue is not put to the trial of refusing a crown." But, to the honour of Christianity, be it recorded, that many have forfeited even their lives, rather than do violence to their consciences. The Pope was not very willing to admit this unworthy son into the church, but at length he consented, and Henry was received at Paris with every demonstration of joy. The leaguers were disappointed by this measure, and resolved, if possible, to take his life. One Pierre Barriere undertook to be his assassin, whose design being discovered was punished with death, and Henry would not allow any more blood to be spilt on the occasion by a search after his accomplices.

Henry  
turns  
Catholic.

His life  
attempted.

Shortly after Jean Chatel, a Jesuit, wounded him in the mouth, in another attempt upon his life. 1593.

The complete reduction of the leaguers, and the establishment of peace with foreign powers, did not happen for some time; but, through the wisdom and fortitude of Henry, every difficulty was surmounted; the chiefs of the leaguers retired in disgrace to Rome and Brussels; and the king of Spain was glad to treat with the French king on his own terms. 1598-9. Leaguers vanquished.

Henry now turned his attention to the situation of the Protestants, and being at Nantes on some state affairs, he published the famous edict which was named after that town. The edict of Nantes.

This edict having continued for a number of years as the safeguard of the reformed church, until it was basely violated by Louis the XIVth, deserves to be particularly noticed in this place. It was the work of four of the most able and judicious men in the kingdom,—Schomberg, Jeannin, De Thou, and Colignon; and had engaged their attention jointly and separately for two years. It contained ninety-two articles, fifty-six of which were never registered. In these the king granted to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and all the rights of citizens,—a chamber which should sit in every parliament, composed of an equal number of Catholic and Protestant judges, and which

1598-9. should be called *the Chamber of the Edict*,—the privilege of holding general assemblies, subject to his pleasure,—the right of levying every year certain sums among themselves to support their cause,—the liberty of keeping some places of security for eight years, of which they should name the governors,—and the yearly sum of eighty thousand crowns for the maintenance of the garrisons. The edict also permitted the Protestants to print their own books on religion, without interruption or restraint.

These privileges, however, were restricted to certain places, in which the Catholics were to enjoy equal liberty of worship. The Protestants were still to subject themselves to the police of the Roman church; they were not to work publicly on holy days; were to pay the dues, and to serve in the parish offices; and grievous penalties were to follow if they troubled the ceremonies of the ecclesiastics by any irreverence, either of words or actions. The king had to encounter many obstacles to establish this edict, and it was not ratified by the parliament till the following year, when it was sent to be carefully preserved in the archives of the church at Rochelle.

Thus the Protestants acquired a confirmation of those privileges for which they had so long been fighting; and it was evident that Henry, being firmly fixed upon the throne, granted them

even more from inclination than from duty. 1598-9.  
To shew his regard still further, he raised two Protestant gentlemen to the dignity of the peerage.

Besides the chamber of the edict at Paris, which took cognizance of the vexations to which the Protestants were liable in that neighbourhood, and extended to Normandy and Britany, they had a kind of inferior parliament at Castres, independent of that at Toulouse, and some chambers also at Grenoble and Bourdeaux, which were half Catholics and half Protestants. Their churches at the same time assembled in synods, like the Gallican church. These, with many other privileges, incorporated the reformed with the rest of the nation. It was indeed tying enemies together; but, says Voltaire, "the goodness, the address, and the authority of this great king, kept them united during his life." The churches enjoyed peace, and multiplied and prospered.

A deluded wretch, of the name of Ravillac, The king  
assassinated. terminated the reign of this excellent prince, by stabbing him to the heart in his coach, while passing through the streets of Paris. The reason he assigned for this act was, that he believed the king to be in his heart a Protestant, and to be detested by the people. He had no accomplices in this act; for no sooner was Henry Grief of  
the nation. dead, than his loss was felt by the whole nation:

1598-9. even the Catholics refused the assassin their prayers, and never was royal worth more honoured than in the universal sorrow which pervaded the land at this moment. The family of the Bourbons have used the memory of their ancestor, Henry the Fourth, as a passport to recover their throne; and while the pages of history continue to trace the wisdom of his measures, the mildness of his government, the condescension of his character, and the benevolence of his heart, this lamented prince must be handed down to posterity as **HENRY THE GREAT.**

1610.  
LOUIS XIII.

His character.

Louis XIII. succeeded his father at the age of nine years. The queen-mother was made regent, and immediately confirmed the edict of Nantes, which Louis afterwards confirmed again when he ascended the throne. But Louis was a weak prince, the tool of his flatterers, and a superstitious bigot. Voltaire charges the Protestants with a turbulent disposition, because they troubled the minority of this sovereign; but surely they had sufficient reason to be dissatisfied when they saw the whole system of the government changed, and Spain and Rome paramount in the cabinet; and were they to blame, after what they had suffered, in taking precautions against the probable consequences of such a change? The Jesuits, who had been banished for attempting the life of Henry IV.

in 1594, were restored by this fanatic, and acquired complete influence over his mind. The queen-mother was sent into exile, intrigue followed intrigue in the court, one distinguished personage after another was assassinated or sent to the scaffold, the civil wars were again renewed, though on a smaller scale and of shorter duration, and the nation was continually in alarm. 1610.

Cardinal Richelieu attained to the rank of prime minister, by publishing a scandalous libel against the Protestants, and continued the favourite of Louis during the remainder of his reign. He was a man of consummate talents, and all his schemes were crowned with complete success. He could wield the sword of steel better than the sword of the Spirit, and acquired no small influence over his master by the reduction of Rochelle, which he besieged during a whole year, and which was the strong hold of the Protestants, and by the general success of his military enterprizes against that unhappy people. 1624. Character of Richelieu. 1625.

The Cardinal now domineered over the reformed church, for its most distinguished leaders were no more, and it was deprived of all the power of resistance which it once possessed. All the edicts which had been previously granted in favour of the Protestants were considered in the light of *treaties* with their sovereigns; but His tyranny.



1635. Richelieu resolved that the instrument, for the security of the privileges which they should enjoy in future, should be termed *the edict of grace*. The king thus assumed the right of a lord to controul in place of a party to agree; he took away the liberty of worship from some of the most distinguished Protestant towns, and allowed them only the *name* of the edict of Nantes, as the basis of their remaining freedom.

“ It seems strange,” says Voltaire, “ that the Cardinal de Richelieu, so absolute and so audacious, had not abolished this famous edict; but he had then another design, perhaps yet more difficult to accomplish, though not less adapted to the extent of his ambition and the pride of his heart. He was panting for the glory of subjugating minds; and he thought himself capable of achieving it by his talents, his power, and his policy. His project was to gain over some preachers, to induce them in the first place to admit that the Catholic worship was not criminal in the sight of God; and then, to concede to them, by degrees, some points of minor importance, which, in the eyes of the court of Rome, he hoped would appear to be granting them nothing. He thought he could delude some of the reformed, and influence others so far by presents and favours, that at least it would seem he had united them to the church, and that

time would finish what he had begun: for himself he regarded only the glory of having either accomplished or prepared this great work. The famous Capuchin Joseph on the one side, and two ministers on the other, entered upon this negociation; but it appeared that the Cardinal de Richelieu had presumed too much upon his abilities, and that it is more difficult to reconcile theologians, than to make dikes upon the ocean."

1625.

Foiled in his attempts, the Cardinal now resolutely opposed himself to the Protestants. The edicts in their favour were violated every day, and innumerable remonstrances were made to the government, but in vain.

The Protestants sent the celebrated Amyraut to court, to complain of these infractions of the edicts. Richelieu would not allow him for a whole fortnight to approach the king, requiring him to yield the privilege of delivering his speech standing, as the other ecclesiastics were accustomed to do, and to supplicate on his knees; to which Amyraut refused compliance, with as much address and inflexibility as the proud Cardinal, and gained his point respecting the etiquette: but though he was very graciously received, he was unable to obtain the redress for which he was sent.

1631.  
Amyraut's  
mission to  
Court.

The Protestants saw the storm approaching, and many of them immediately fled, among

1634.  
Alarm of  
the Pro-  
testants.

1634. whom were Amyraut, Mestrezat, and other ministers of distinguished piety and learning. Some took refuge in England; but Laud being then in power, they only escaped from the hands of one papistical tyrant to fall into those of another, who speedily obliged them to quit their expected asylum, and to seek safety elsewhere.

Richelieu's difficulties.

Richelieu adopted the most inveterate measures against the Protestants, and determined completely to crush them, but he was prevented from executing his designs by the distractions of the court. His ambition made him many enemies. The great men of the kingdom, part of the royal family, and some members of the house of Austria, were among their number; and sometimes even Louis himself was provoked against him.

1642.  
His death.

After having reduced the reformed church of France to a state of impotency, from which it has never been able to recover, this ambitious man, overwhelmed with cares, was stopped in his career by the irresistible hand of death, which removed him unexpectedly from the public scene of action in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He left all his plans of aggrandizement incomplete, and died unpitied by the world; even his prince smiled when he saw him in the agonies of death, and seemed to rejoice in his approaching deliverance from the fascinations of his favourite;

for when he was told that he had expired, <sup>1643.</sup> he coolly replied, "*It is a great political death.*"

—*Sic transit gloria mundi!*

The year following Louis died, as little la-<sup>1643.</sup> mented as the Cardinal. He was in the forty-<sup>Death of Louis XIV.</sup> third year of his age. He had not one amiable quality. Nothing but flattery could gain his favour; and it was truly said, "he loved without esteeming, and he esteemed without loving."—But, notwithstanding the persecutions of this reign, the Protestants had greatly increased, and their numbers now amounted to not less than two millions,—thus resembling the palm tree, which beneath the pressure revives and flourishes.

Louis XIV. succeeded his father in the fifth<sup>LOUIS XIV.</sup> year of his age. During his minority the queen-mother was entrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, and Cardinal Mazarine, a creature of<sup>Mazarine succeeds Richelieu.</sup> Richelieu's, was made prime minister. The edict of Nantes was again confirmed, and the confirmation was repeated when the king was of age. But Mazarine intended to complete the plan begun by his predecessor, and the revocation of that edict was the darling scheme which he never failed to impress upon the mind of the young king.

Colbert, the minister of finance, being a firm friend to peace and a promoter of the arts, employed numbers of the Protestants to assist

1664. in the public improvements which were made during this reign, in the manufactures as well as in the marine. The Chancellor Le Tellier, and Louvois his son, were his enemies, and wished to destroy the Protestants because Colbert protected them. The Clergy, the Jesuits, and the court of Rome, were not behind in forwarding this godly work. Louis never took the trouble of inquiring into their creed, but as they and the government had always been at war, he thought the better way was to extirpate them. When he was therefore relieved from the burden of those civil wars which long endangered his throne after his accession, he began to make war upon his best subjects, and turned even the loyalty of the Protestants against them; for as their exertions against his enemies had materially served the cause of the king, he very *sagaciously* reasoned, that those who could so signally aid in the preservation of the state had power to overthrow it!

The king's  
antipathy  
to the Pro-  
testants.

1670.  
His cruel-  
ties.

Now began a series of cruelties at which nature revolts, and Christianity shudders, though committed under her professed sanction. These had occasionally appeared in the early parts of the reign, but the succeeding fifteen or twenty years witnessed their severe and complete infliction. Rochelle was burdened with proscriptions. Montauban and Millau were sacked by the soldiers. Popish commissioners were placed over

all the affairs of the Protestants. Orders were issued to examine all their transactions for the past twenty years, and on the testimonies of false witnesses many innocent victims were thrown into prisons and dungeons, and consigned to the whipping post, the galleys, or banishment. Persons were forbidden to embrace the Protestant faith. Soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, to continue there till they would change their religion. Their churches were shut up on the most frivolous pretences; and if the order was not obeyed, they were razed to the ground. Many, through extreme punishment, had embraced the Catholic religion, and when their consciences smote them, they were subjected to the most severe decrees as relapsed heretics. Their pastors were prohibited from exercising any discipline over their flocks. Intermarriages with the Catholics were not allowed. Children of tender years were separated from their parents, and obliged to embrace the Catholic religion. Their colleges were suppressed. The printing of books was prohibited to them, and those which were printed were seized by the government. Their ministers were not allowed to officiate in one place more than three years. They were frequently punished for preaching on the ruins of their demolished churches; and, at length, were forbidden to preach at all. All offices, trades,

1670.

1670. privileges, and employments, were taken away from the reformed. Their meetings were not permitted to be held in private houses. Their sick and dying were not allowed any but Catholic priests to attend them. The edict of Nantes, which Henry IV. had declared irrevocable, was abolished. A decree was passed to banish the Protestants from the country, and when they would willingly have obeyed it a severe penalty was announced against all who attempted to escape. The rack, the dungeon, and the scaffold, were alternately used as instruments of punishment, and every cruelty inflicted which satanic malignity could devise. The dragoons, who were quartered upon the people to convert them, exercised all kinds of cruelty, with the clergy at their head. They half-roasted the unhappy sufferers, stuck them with pins from head to foot, cut and slashed them with pen-knives, and led them up and down the rooms by the nose with red-hot pincers, to make them turn Catholics. These form a small part only of the atrocities committed; but, for the honour of human nature, let a veil be drawn over the rest.

1685.  
REVOCATION of the  
EDICT of  
NANTES.

Fatal  
effects of  
the new  
edict.

The effect of the measures now resorted to may be, in some degree, conceived from the following narrative of the church at Metz. M. Ancillon, one of the four pastors of this church, received information on Saturday, the 23d. of October, 1685, in the evening, from

M. de Corberon, *procureur general*, that a decree had been received from the king to prevent the exercise of the reformed religion both at Metz and throughout the country, and that on the Monday the pleasure of his majesty would be more fully known. This news threw both pastor and people into the utmost consternation; and, on the morrow, a very considerable number of the reformed left the town. Nothing was to be seen on the roads which lead to Germany but carriages of all kinds, laden with women and children, and men greatly fatigued accompanying them on foot. The sabbath, which proved a day of mourning and desolation, was followed by a day yet more alarming: that edict, which agreeably to the language and determination of the Great Henry, was to be *firm and stable for ever*, was revoked by a decree of Louis XIV. at the solicitation of the widow Scarron, and the Jesuits, who were the counsellors of this woman. It was registered on the 25th of October in the parliament of Metz, and *the same day* the temple was demolished; so eager was the spirit of persecution! The four pastors, accompanied to the frontiers by an immense population, set off by the Moselle, and gained Frankfort upon the Maine. Ancillon retired to Berlin, where he was favourably received, and appointed preacher to the Grand Elector. The worship of the reformed thus terminated at Metz; but what were the



1685. consequences? This town lost a third of its population; the reformed, so far from being induced to change their religion by the dragoons which the Count De Bissy had quartered upon them, were only strengthened in their resolution to persevere in the faith and to fly from punishment; by which emigration Metz lost its commerce and its splendour. This assertion, however bold and exaggerated it may appear, is a truth supported by the testimony of all who are well informed on the subject. M. Turgot, intendant at Metz from 1696 to 1700, does not conceal the fact, that the decline of Metz sprung from this fatal emigration. "The principal and richest inhabitants," says he, "are withdrawn, and commerce has suffered from their departure, because the Catholics, who succeed them, supply their places but very imperfectly; for," continues he, "it is not easy to replace their credit in the foreign cities where this town has all its commerce, and this will always be an evil which must happen from their past emigration." This was written in 1699, in an historical memoir sent to the king.

More than forty tanners, toymen, jewellers, and goldsmiths of this place, all the grocers, and all the factors, were of the reformed religion, and almost all of them quitted their ungrateful and cruel country; they went with regret to carry their riches and their industry into Germany

1685

and Prussia. To Berlin, as being the residence of Ancillon and his sons, they felt powerful attractions; and that city, which was the capital of a rising state, owed much of its subsequent prosperity to the French reformed.

Thus by this impolitic measure no less than eight hundred thousand persons were driven from France, and these the richest manufacturers and the most ingenious and industrious people of the kingdom; for, as the Protestants could never depend upon acquiring the honours of the state, they had always had recourse to commerce to maintain their influence and procure support. Twenty millions of property were carried away by these fugitives; and in addition to the states already mentioned, Denmark, Holland, and England, opened their arms most cordially to receive them. The Prince of Orange offered to build a thousand houses for them at Amsterdam, and the English government made yearly grants for their support, which continue to some of their descendants to this day, with whom they are to expire. The silk manufactory at Spitalfields owes its origin to this emigration.

Some distinguished Protestants lost their lives in this fatal persecution, among whom was the pastor Chamier, who had drawn up the edict of Nantes. The name of Chamier has long been venerated by the Protestants, and he ranks among the number of illustrious martyrs.

1685. Several ministers distinguished themselves during the progress of these proceedings, by remonstrating with the government, and vindicating the cause of the oppressed. Among these were Du Bose and Claude: the former pleaded most powerfully before the king, so as to charm him with his eloquence, and the latter was the undaunted opponent of Bossuet, and all the Popish ecclesiastical writers. These divines, with Basnage and others, took refuge in Holland. Abbadie joined those at Berlin; and Dr. Allix, with some of his brethren, came to England. Many families went to Geneva, among whom was the celebrated Saurin, who afterwards settled at the Hague.

Four hundred thousand Protestants yet remained in France, and it was deemed an easy thing to bring these to subjection. They were compelled to go to mass and to receive the communion, but some would not swallow the wafer after having taken it from the priests, for which crime they were condemned to be burnt alive. The bodies of those who would not receive the sacrament at the hour of death, were dragged upon hurdles, and thrown into the common sewers.

Courage of  
the Protestants.

Notwithstanding these persecutions the Protestants assembled every where to sing psalms, in spite of the punishment of death decreed against those who should hold assemblies. This

punishment was decreed against those ministers also who should re-enter the kingdom, and a large reward was offered to such as would denounce them. 1685.

About this time Pierre Jurieu, a minister of great talents, but of a warm imagination, wrote a commentary on the Revelations, in which he attempted to enforce an opinion upon the world, that William the Third, who now reigned in England, was raised up by Providence to deliver it from Antichrist. He made himself a number of enemies among the judicious part of the Protestants; but the more zealous fled to arms, and relied for success upon the truth of his prophecies. This rebellion became rather extensive in Languedoc and the neighbouring countries, in the war which broke out a few years afterwards. Jurieu's enthusiasm. Rebellion of the Protestants. 1701.

Among those who perished at this period was the celebrated pastor Claude Brousson, who was broken alive upon the wheel, under the foul charge of exciting a spirit of revolt. He died with the heroism of a primitive martyr. Execution of Claude Brousson.

In a few years the rebellious dispersed, after three marshals of France had in vain been sent to subdue them, and after many lives had been lost in attacking them in their strong holds, in dens, woods, rocks, and caves, where they baffled all the efforts of the military to effect their destruction. Those who escaped joined Dispersion of the rebellious.

1701. their persecuted brethren in the Protestant countries.

The re-  
formed re-  
ligion  
nearly  
crushed in  
France.

The revocation of the edict of Nantes long checked the progress of the reformed church in France; and by the loss of a million and a half of subjects, and the sacrifice of the manufacturing interests of the kingdom, that *wise* monarch, Louis XIV. who is still absurdly called **THE GREAT**, effected this triumph over the religious liberties of his people!

State of the  
churches.

From this time the Protestants who remained were obliged to assemble together for devotional purposes by stealth. They had no more pastors, but they came to their religious assemblies from great distances, and, like the primitive Christians when under Pagan persecution, they worshipped God in dens and caves of the earth. Some worthy men, with truly apostolic zeal, visited the churches which were found in this condition, and in the exercise of their functions passed through the greatest dangers and the most violent persecutions, from which they could have escaped only by the miraculous interposition of Providence.

1715.  
Death of  
Louis XIV.

Louis XIV. died at the age of seventy-seven, after having reigned seventy-two years, during which time he had seen four Kings in Sweden, four in Denmark, five in Poland, five in Portugal, three in Spain, four in England, three Emperors, and nine Popes. The French idolize the memory

of this prince, and distinguish him, as before observed, by the name of *Louis the Great*. He was certainly the patron of literature and the arts, but it was then the Augustine age of Europe, and other countries during his reign could boast of men equally renowned with the *litterati* of France, and princes equally disposed to protect them. He was also GREAT in arms, for he had a numerous population fond of military glory; but his overweening ambition, like a scorching sun, withered his laurels in his declining days. In his domestic character he was a voluptuary and a sensualist; in his religious character he was superstitious, and the tool of the Jesuits; and in his political character he was cruel and sanguinary. His career was marked by blood;—blood shed in perpetual foreign wars at the commencement of his reign, and drawn from the veins of thousands of his Protestant subjects towards its conclusion. In short, we may sum up his character by saying, in one word, he was a TYRANT, and indelible infamy must stain his memory as long as the faithful pen of history shall record the cruelties inflicted by THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES!

Louis XV. succeeded his great-grandfather Louis XV. as King of France. This prince was too much occupied with his gallantries to trouble himself about the consciences of his subjects. He

1723-02. found the Protestants under oppression, and he left them so. Notorious cruelties were not indeed exercised during his reign, as in the reigns of Charles IX. and Louis the XIVth, but some blood was spilt in the cause of religion. A minister was executed at Montpellier in 1728, another at the same place in 1752, and some great severities were inflicted at Toulouse in 1769, where M. Rochette, a minister, suffered the punishment of death. The reformed, always worshipped by stealth, for their meetings were held illegal; and till the war of 1752, even the smallest villages had garrisons, the sole object of which was to prevent religious assemblies, and to pursue the ministers. Notwithstanding these interdictions, they often congregated in vast numbers, and enjoyed their worship in the open air. Sometimes they chose a sloping hill, formed like an amphitheatre, on the declivity of which the people sat, with heaps of stones for their benches, the pulpit being placed at the bottom: here in some parts five or six thousand souls would assemble on ordinary occasions, and at their solemn feasts eight or ten thousand. Sometimes in summer they worshipped in large caves, where they were sheltered from the rays of the sun, and where the echo assisted the voice of the minister. At other times these meetings were held at night in some secluded spots; a preacher would perhaps arrive

Several  
ministers  
executed.

Large as-  
semblies  
meet for  
worship.

in the evening, convoke a religious meeting, 1729-32.  
preach, and depart.\*

Punishments and cruel treatment on account, 1763.  
of religion began now to cease in the greater  
part of the provinces, and religious assemblies  
were a little tolerated; but this depended very  
much, upon the dispositions of the governors,  
commandants, and intendants of the provinces.  
Acts of severity were still occasionally exercised.  
The parliament of Grenoble condemned to death, 1764.  
one of the ministers who had preached in the  
desert; and as his person could not be obtained,  
he was burnt in effigy at Mens.

At Orange, in the department of Vaucluse, 1764.  
about eighty Protestants, men, women, and  
children, without a pastor, were assembled to-  
gether on a sabbath-day, to read the holy scrip-  
tures, with one of Saurin's sermons, and to sing  
psalms; when suddenly they were surprised by  
an armed force, but they continued the service.  
Many orders were vociferated for them to dis-  
perse, which they fearlessly disregarded. The  
Protes-  
tants dis-  
turbed at  
Orange.

\* M. Roman Dugyér preached for forty years, at Dieuleft, in  
Dauphiné, and the Cévennes, whither he repaired at different  
times. In 1744, by a decree of the parliament of Grenoble, a  
price was set upon his head; but although continually pursued,  
his zeal carried him to every place where pastors were needed.  
He married forty couple in one single night, and baptized ninety  
children. His arduous work terminated only with his life.  
During the Revolution he entered into his rest, deeply bewailing  
the fate of the churches then suffering under oppression.



1764. soldiers threatened to fire, and yet they remained perfectly composed, nor did either women or children discover the smallest symptoms of trepidation. At length the bayonettes were fixed, and the worship ceased, when some of the principal gentlemen of the assembly stepped forward, delivered themselves up as hostages for the rest, and obtained their liberty. These were thrown into prison, and after two months' confinement were liberated.

Civil disabilities  
of the  
Protes-  
tants.

The civil disabilities to which these oppressed people were subjected were yet very great; they were excluded from all public employments, and their children were continually in danger of losing their patrimonial rights. Their marriages and baptisms were performed in the metropolis by the chaplains of the foreign ambassadors, and in the country they waited the occasional visits of those devoted men, who ventured to break to them the bread of life. But the law did not recognize these ceremonies, and their domestic felicity was greatly impaired by the fear of not being able to transmit their property to their children, which some distant kindred would claim before the tribunals, by nullifying the legitimacy of the Protestant heirs.

1770. Cruel persecutions were sometimes the consequence of not baptizing their children in the Catholic church, and several persons were imprisoned and exiled by *lettres-de-cachet* for this

crime. One reformed minister was thrown into prison for being guilty of performing the rite of baptism, and treated with so much severity that he died in nine days. Liberty of worship had however been once more enjoyed in various provinces for several years, and the reformed no longer met together in secret places, but held their religious assemblies in peace in some edifices set apart for the purpose in the midst of the towns where they resided.

1774.

Louis XV. died of the small pox, after having resigned fifty-nine years.

1776.

Louis XVI. succeeded his grandfather; he was a mild and tolerant prince, but he never thought of giving his Protestant subjects liberty till the embarrassed state of public affairs rendered it advisable to conciliate all parties. The year that he ascended the throne, a minister was thrown into prison three months, for performing divine service, and in 1776 arrests were issued against several, for publicly engaging in worship.

LOUIS XVI.

Yet instances of toleration sometimes occurred, and promised some improvement in the circumstances of the reformed church. Some pious persons were engaged in devotional exercises on the banks of the Gironne, when their bigotted Catholic neighbours assembled the guards, and a few peasants, who, to the number of thirty, all armed, invested the spot, with a

1779.

Improved condition of the reformed.

1779. view to seize the minister, but he was suffered to escape. The reformed, to whom the ground belonged, complained of the insult offered to them by persons not having legal authority: this complaint was addressed to the commandant of the place, who, being an upright man, sent the complaint and the process verbal to the minister. A few days after the intendant ordered that no persons should be guilty of any arbitrary conduct towards the reformed. This letter, from so respectable an authority, gave them new energy: one offered his garden, situated near some fortifications, to serve as a place for assembling; this was soon after metamorphosed into a temple, a church was organized here, and a consistory appointed.

1792.  
Their improved  
condition  
only partial.

Other societies were less fortunate. In Normandy they were treated with great rigour: the religious society of Dieppe was served with a *lettre-de-cachet*, and the houses for worship in various communes were shut up during three months. Thus the toleration which was enjoyed in some provinces was always precarious, being founded upon the individual opinion of the superior authorities, and the reformed were wholly deprived of their civil and political rights. A large proportion of the natives of France were not recognized as citizens, though they were obliged to assist in bearing the burthens of the state; they were married; and yet they were not

considered as standing in a conjugal relation; 1782.  
they had children, and yet were destitute of heirs; they were obliged to live honestly, and yet were denied the advantage of any civil profession; they had a religion, but were allowed no worship; and they would fain have taken refuge in the bosom of some country where they might have enjoyed the privileges which the rights of nature allow them, but they dared not emigrate!

"We groan," says an enlightened French writer, "over the state of the Catholics in England; they are uncomfortable, but their race is not blasted: English hatred against Popery has never extended so far as to inflict upon their families the desolating marks of concubinage, and to bastardize their children: their heirs inherit their property; their noble families are not reduced to the impossibility of proving their nobility, except by clandestine acts, inadmissible at their tribunals; and if the disgusts to which they are exposed in their country seem insupportable to them, they are allowed to emigrate, the gates of the three kingdoms are open to them." This is a just picture of the freedom enjoyed by Catholics in the united kingdom; and it were to be wished that the writer could have described it in fewer words, "they have all the *rights of citizens*." But the world is now hastening to that state of perfection in knowledge

Hardships  
under  
which they  
still suf-  
fered.

1769. and legislature, that it is to be expected the period will soon arrive when in every country in the four quarters of the globe, but especially in polished Europe, civil disabilities for opinions in religion will be eternally forgotten.

1787. The oppressions under which the reformed church still groaned were the causes of perpetual litigations, and the most distinguished counsellors were often called upon to plead the rights of their children, against the unprincipled claims of the avaricious Catholics, who, seizing on the advantage afforded by the laws, continually added to the bitterness of their orphan state, by attempting to deprive them of their last support, in which, alas, they were often but too successful.

Edict in  
favour of  
the Protestants.

The celebrated Malesherbes, M. Rulhières, and the Baron de Breteuil, nobly stood forward to plead the cause of the sufferers, and the writings of Rabaut Saint Etienne, pastor of the church at Nîmes, considerably influenced the enlightened men of the nation, and the government, in their favour. At length the famous edict of Louis XVI. was announced, which restored the Protestants to their civil rights, but it was not sanctioned by the parliament without some opposition; and one enthusiast started up in the assembly when it was discussed, and, presenting a crucifix, peremptorily inquired, *If they were going to crucify the Son of God afresh?*

This edict was of course received with great joy by the reformed, and their religious assemblies resounded with praise to God, and blessings upon the king, and those who had promoted the beneficent work; yet it lost a portion of that credit which it would otherwise have obtained, by its being coupled with another for procuring a very considerable loan in aid of the exhausted finances of the kingdom. It was therefore considered more politic than liberal, as it was a concession made with a kind of price attached to it, and which perhaps in a short time would have been demanded by a people who were then all turning their views towards the rights of subjects.

As soon as this edict was published, the reformed hastened in crowds to the houses of the royal judges, to register their marriages, and the births of their children. In many districts the judges were obliged to transport themselves into the different communes of their jurisdiction, to avoid the crowd, and to spare the great expence which these applications would have occasioned to numerous families; and many instances occurred in which old men were seen registering their own marriage, with that of their children, and grandchildren.

Thus these unhappy people, who had suffered for two centuries and a half under a yoke, intolerable as that of the Israelites in Egypt, the

1787. subjects of perpetual persecutions and punishments, could at length enjoy their property in peace, and transmit their inheritance to their children. This was a great advance towards liberty, and was the more appreciated as they had been so long deprived of every civil advantage; but yet they were much behind other French citizens, and by no means enjoyed an equality of rights; the penal laws against them were not abolished, and neither in a political nor religious view were they free. After all the losses to which they had been exposed from wars, emigrations, and punishments, the number of the reformed was still reckoned at four millions, which was more than one sixth of the population of the whole kingdom.

1788.  
Persecu-  
tion still  
continued.

Though the decree of 1787 had passed in favour of the Protestants, they were still ill-treated in the exercise of their civil and religious rights; and even in the month of March, of the following year, a warrant was issued against M. Mordaunt, the pastor of the churches at Dieppe and Lunerai, because he had married a couple at Rouen, where one of the parties was a Catholic, notwithstanding that he had attended to the formalities prescribed by the decree of the last year.

Another circumstance will shew the restrictions to which their worship was subjected. The reformed of Strasburg obtained liberty from the

king to build a place for worship in that town, but permission was only granted on condition that the exterior of the edifice should not in any way announce that it was a church! 1788.

The perplexed state of the finances obliged M. Neckar, the king's minister, to assemble the states-general, that the deputies from the various provinces might vote the necessary supplies, and the taxes be raised by the consent of the nation. Immediately on their assembling they discussed the question, whether it would not be advisable at such a crisis to vote together as one body, instead of dividing the clergy and peers from the commoners. This resolution was carried in the affirmative, and produced THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. 1789. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

This famous assembly proceeded rapidly to abridge the royal prerogative, and to discuss the rights of the people; and on the 21st of August it decreed an Article of the Declaration of Rights in these words: "The law is the expression of the general will; all the citizens have a right to concur personally or by their representatives at its formation; it must be the same for all, whether it protects or whether it punishes; *all the citizens are equal in its eyes, and are equally admissible to all dignities, places, and public employments, without any distinction but that of their virtues and talents.*" Decree favourable to religious liberty.

On the 25d of the same month, in dis-



1790. discussing another Article, it was proposed, that *no man should be disturbed for his religious opinions, nor troubled in the exercise of his religion.* Rabaut Saint Etienne, who was a member of the national assembly, delivered his thoughts upon this subject, in which he laid open the grand principles upon which religious liberty is founded, which were afterwards acknowledged by the assembly, and which have since served as a basis for the laws respecting liberty of worship.

The confined limits of an historical sketch will not allow of the insertion of all this admirable speech, in which the rights of conscience are defined with the greatest nicety, and defended with invincible courage.

Rabaut's  
speech on  
the rights  
of con-  
science.

"This liberty," said the orator, "is the most sacred of all; it escapes the empire of men; it takes refuge in the depths of the conscience as in an inviolable sanctuary, where no mortal has a right to penetrate; it is this alone which men have not submitted to the common laws of society: to constrain it is injustice; to attack it is sacrilege.

"Sirs, such is the difference which exists between Frenchmen and Frenchmen, that the Protestants are deprived of many advantages in society: *that* cross, the honourable reward of the courage and services rendered to the country, they are forbidden to receive; for it is to deprive men of honour, and Frenchmen of the

reward of honour, to buy it with hypocrisy. In fine, sirs, to fill up the measure of their humiliation and sufferings, proscribed in their thoughts, guilty in their opinions, they are deprived of the liberty of professing their worship. The penal laws,—and what else can those laws be denominated which are founded on the principle, that error is a crime!—the penal laws against their worship have not been abolished; in many provinces they are reduced to celebrate it in the deserts; exposed to all the intemperance of the seasons, to conceal themselves like criminals from the eye of the law, or rather to render the law ridiculous by its injustice, in eluding and violating it every day.

But, sirs, it is not even tolerance that I demand—it is liberty. Tolerance! protection! pardon! clemency!—ideas sovereignly unjust towards the dissentients, as long as it shall remain a truth, that difference of religion, that difference of opinion is not a crime. Tolerance! I demand that it should be proscribed in its turn; for this unjust word will only represent to us, as citizens worthy of pity, as criminals who are pardon'd, those whom accidental circumstances and education have often led to think differently from us. Error, sirs, is not a crime: he who professes it receives it as truth, and it is truth to him; he is obliged to profess it, and no man, no society, has a right to forbid him.

1780.

“ I demand for all the Non-Catholics what you demand for yourselves;—equality of rights, liberty, the liberty of their religion, the liberty of their worship, the liberty of celebrating it in houses consecrated for that purpose, the assurance of not being troubled in the exercise of their religion any more than you are in yours, and the perfect assurance of being protected like you, as much as you, and in the same manner as you, by the common law.

“ You are, too wise, sirs, to convert religion into an object of self-love, and to substitute an intolerance of vanity for an intolerance of pride and domination, which, during almost fifteen centuries, has shed torrents of blood. You will not be surprised that there are men who think differently from you; who worship God in another manner than you; and you will not regard the diversity of thoughts as a wrong which is done to you. Instructed by the long and sanguinary experience of ages,—instructed by the faults of your fathers, and by their merited misfortunes,—you will doubtless say it is time to lay aside this ferocious sword, which yet disgusts us with the blood of our fellow-citizens; it is time to render to them those rights which have been too long unknown; it is time to break the unjust barriers which separated them from us, and to make them love a country which has proscribed them and chased them from its bosom.

"You are too wise, sirs, to imagine that it has been reserved for you to accomplish what mankind have not been able to effect during six thousand years,—to reduce all men to one and the same worship. You do not suppose that it has been reserved for the national assembly to destroy a variety which has always existed, nor that you possess a right which God himself has not exercised."

"I suppress, sirs, a crowd of motives which should render two millions\* of unfortunates interesting and dear to you; they could present themselves to you yet stained with the blood of their fathers, and they could shew you the marks of their own fetters. My country is free; and I wish, like it, to forget the evils which we have shared with it, and the greater evils of which we have been the sole victims. What I ask is, that it shew itself worthy of liberty in distributing it equally to all the citizens, without distinction of rank, birth, or religion, and that you give to the dissentients what you take for yourselves."

\* The statements respecting the number of the French Protestants are so much at variance, that the inquiries of the translator on this subject have been perpetually baffled. The reader must have observed, that in 1787 they were computed to amount to four millions; and as the first breaking out of the revolution could not have so much reduced their numbers, one or other of these statements must have been incorrect. Perhaps the better way is to take the medium between the two.

**1789.** At this sitting it was decreed, that "*no one be troubled for his opinions, even of a religious kind, provided that their publication do not disturb the public order established by law.*"

Another  
tolerant  
decree.

By a decree of the 24th of December, the Protestants were admitted to the privilege of electors, and to a share in all the degrees of administration, as well as to every employment, civil and military, like other citizens.

**1790.** On the 15th of March Rabaut was himself chosen as the successor of the Abbé Montesquieu in the presidency of the national assembly, and it was esteemed a singular triumph over the ancient religious prejudices, to see a minister of the reformed religion presiding over such a body.

An inter-  
tollant  
motion.

But the old prejudices were not extinct; for on the 12th of April a member proposed the following motion: *that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is, and always shall continue to be, the religion of the nation, and its worship shall be the only public and authorized worship.*

Speech of  
the Baron  
Menou.

On this occasion, the Baron Menou strongly vindicated the rights of conscience. "It is," said he, "with extreme regret that I have to-day witnessed the proposal of the question which is now submitted to your deliberation. I begin by unequivocally declaring my profession of faith. I profoundly respect the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, which

I believe to be the only true religion, and I 1790.  
submit to it with all my heart and soul; but  
can my conviction in favour of this religion, and  
the form of worship by which I pay my homage  
to the Supreme Being, be the effect or result of  
any decree or law whatever? No, without doubt,  
my conscience and my opinion belong only to  
myself, and I ought to render an account only  
to that God whom I adore; neither laws, nor  
governments, nor men, have any control over  
me upon this subject: I ought not to trouble  
the religious opinions of any one, and no one  
ought to trouble mine; and these principles are  
solemnly consecrated in your declaration of  
rights, which establishes among all men civil,  
political, and religious equality.

“Ministers of a God of peace, who wishes  
his empire to be established only by gentle-  
ness and persuasion, who has given you such  
great examples of tolerance and charity, will  
you, can you, wish to light up the torch of  
discord? Is it your desire that the national  
assembly should become the instrument of the  
misfortunes and perhaps of the destruction of the  
people? Oh! no; a zeal not moderated by judg-  
ment has caused you for a moment to fall into a  
mistake: return to yourselves; return to your  
holy ministry, you will find means by your  
examples and your virtues to extend the reli-  
gion that you profess; it is not by any law that

H

1790, you will fix its superiority. Has not God himself said, that in spite of all the efforts of men, his holy religion shall extend, shall increase, and shall finally embrace the whole earth? Has he not said, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it? And would you, by a decree, attempt to confirm those sublime words of the Creator of the world? If, as I doubt not, you are persuaded of the truth of that religion of which you are the ministers, can you fear that it shall be annihilated? Can you suppose that the will and the laws of Providence need our decrees? Would not this, on the contrary, be to strike at the respect which we owe him? Would it not indicate a desire to usurp the place of God himself? And is not religion independent of all the efforts of the human mind?"

In conclusion, the Baron, as a representative of the people, protested against the proposed measure, and warned those who should support it, that they would be responsible for all the evils which he foresaw it must produce, and all the blood which would in consequence be shed.

The proposal was lost.

Decree in  
behalf of  
the Pro-  
testants.

By a decree of the 10th of July, the confiscated property of the reformed which remained in the hands of the government was restored, the heirs and claimants having been invited to

make good their claims, and the fugitives, or their heirs, solicited to return. 1790.

These were great advances towards the rights of conscience, but nothing was yet effectually done to guarantee full liberty of worship; the moment was not arrived when it could be exercised in complete security.

During the reign of the sanguinary Robespierre, 1793-4. with great propriety denominated *the reign of terror*, every form of religion was equally suppressed, and the Catholics now knew, in common with the Protestants, what it was to be deprived of freedom of worship. Infidel philosophy had a fair opportunity of shewing its character to the world. In the profundity of its wisdom it blended all religions together, and melted them down into the mass of superstition; the simple and rational worship of God was confounded with irrational homage to the Virgin and to canonized saints. In the extent of its liberality it granted all kinds of liberty, except that which is of the first importance, liberty of conscience; and while it claimed the right at one time to assert that there was no God, and at another to decree that there was a Supreme Being, it denied to all besides the right of paying their homage to that Being in the way which their consciences deemed best. The rulers of France at this period were the first avowed infidels who ever held the reins of government

REPUBLIC.  
Reign of  
terror.



1793-4. in a civilized state; and they gave the world full proof, that with all their boasted freedom of thought in the Christian countries over which they had influence, were they to obtain universal empire, such freedom would be for ever annihilated. Under their authority the altars were insulted, the churches thrown down, and public worship was abolished. Exclusive rights were granted to the disciples of reason. Lucien

All worship abolished.

Speech of Lucien Buonaparte.

Buonaparte, in a public discourse, delivered shortly afterwards, forcibly described the desolations which they had committed. "For the first time in the history of the world," said he, "we saw the law encouraging the citizens to declare themselves infamous, the public authorities receiving with delight the declaration of the priests who abjured their sacerdotal character; the monuments of religion, like those of the arts, converted into ruins; silence and desolation reigning in the temples; the bloody hands of the atheist despoiling that sanctuary which the homage of so many successive generations ought to have rendered sacred; the sepulchral stones of our families dishonoured, and infamous courtesans, led in triumph, seating themselves upon the marble of the altars."

1795. In the third year of the Republic, a change of the constitution established liberty of worship; but the poverty of the reformed churches prevented many of them from erecting buildings

Liberty of worship restored.

for the purpose, and their devotions were exercised in the open air. 1795.

In the tenth year of the Republic, the counsellor of state, Portalis, afterwards minister of worship, drew up a report upon the subject, which did more than any production that had ever before appeared, to place it in the clearest light, and to serve the cause of religious liberty. 1802.

"At this interesting epoch," says M. Rabaut, the younger, "peace was restored to the Roman Catholic church, by the famous *concordat* concluded between the French government and the Sovereign Roman Pontiff. The reformed churches, on their part, obtained some important advantages which they had never yet completely enjoyed. ConsUL-  
SHIP OF  
BUONA-  
PARTE.  
Concor-  
dat.

"Organized in virtue of a law, their pastors are become public functionaries paid by government, and confirmed in their office by his imperial majesty.

"The consistories have been recognized as administrators of the goods and revenues of the church and the poor, as well as of the pious donations, foundations, and legacies.

"The synods have been authorized and regulated in a manner more advantageous for the churches.

"Ecclesiastical discipline has been maintained, and no change can be made without the authority of the government. Academies and semi-

1802. **aries** have been granted for the instruction of the young men who are designed for the gospel ministry.

“ All church disputes of a religious nature are carried to the council of state.

“ The imperial decrees which intervened before the execution of the law have brought it to perfection, and have signally manifested the constant will of his majesty to maintain the most perfect equality in all Christian worship.

“ The costume of the pastors has been regulated, and those that are of the church of Paris have obtained the decoration of honour.

“ The place of the presidents of the consistories has been appointed in the public ceremonies.

“ The treatment of the pastors has been regulated.

“ The communes must also contribute to the building, repairing, and support of the temples and the worship.

“ To prevent the interruption of divine service, pastors about to remove must give six months' notice.

“ No one can become a pastor till he is twenty-five years of age.

“ The smaller churches are united to the consistorial, the number of members of which is too small to support a pastor.

“ Many public edifices have been granted for

religious purposes; some of these were deserted 1800.  
Catholic churches, and others public warehouses,  
barracks, and buildings, before used for secular  
purposes. Lands at the disposal of the govern-  
ment have been given either for the purpose  
of restoring them their dilapidated buildings, or  
of erecting new ones."

The Catholics were much displeased at the terms of the *concordat*, and at the advantages gained by the Protestants. It was soon perceived that Buonaparte had covertly done more for the Reformed than the Catholic church. No Catholic seminaries were provided to keep up a due supply of ministers, while the Protestants were allowed to draw their resources from the Swiss universities, formed after the model of Geneva; and the Lutherans, who adhered to the confession of Augsburg, had an educational establishment appointed for them at Keyserlautern on the Rhine. The Catholics were restricted from writing against the Protestants, but no restriction was put upon the Protestants to prevent them from writing against the Catholics. This article was peculiarly obnoxious to the prohibited party; and it must be confessed that it was justly so, though they would have been well pleased with it, had the balance preponderated in their favour. A deputation in consequence waited upon Buonaparte, to obtain some alteration of the obnoxious clause; but

Disentia-  
faction of  
the Catho-  
lics.

1802. the First Consul craftily replied, "I hear that the Protestants are dissatisfied with some of their articles, and wish an alteration. If I grant your request, I must their's, and there will be no end of alterations. You had better be content with it as it is."

After the death of Portalis, the minister of worship, Buonaparte appointed Prevenu, a Protestant, to execute that office; and to give additional influence to the Protestants, General Savary, a senator of that persuasion, was made minister of police; a master-piece of policy, by which an effectual check was given to the intrigues of the emigrants and refractory priests. M. Marron, the president of the three consistorial churches of Paris, was also decorated with the *cordons bleu* and gold cross, as a commandant of the legion of honour, by which he became entitled to a pension of 100*l.* per annum, in addition to 300*l.* the yearly salary allowed to every Protestant president.

This is an outline of the improved condition of the Protestants under the authority of Buonaparte, and may account for that attachment which they always so strongly evinced towards him till the restoration of the Bourbons. The words of the Protestant writer before quoted will prove the state of their feelings in consequence of these privileges, and show how much a sovereign may secure his own interests by

attending to the religious liberties of his people; 1802.  
 for it was not till France groaned under the  
 exhaustion of its youthful population, by the  
 constant opening of that terrible drain the con-  
 scription, that they manifested the slightest  
 indifference to his authority.

“ These splendid acts of justice,” says Rabaut,  
 “ this signal protection granted to the reformed  
 and Protestant churches by the great Napoleon,  
 have penetrated with gratitude, love, and respect  
 for his sacred person, that interesting portion of  
 his subjects, who, after two centuries and a half  
 of unparalleled persecutions, are indebted to him  
 for the peaceable enjoyment of the most precious  
 blessings; they had the sweet satisfaction of ex-  
 pressing to him the sentiments with which they  
 were penetrated, when at the epoch of his coro-  
 nation, the presidents of the consistories, who had  
 been specially comprized in the appeal made to  
 the public functionaries to assist at the coronation,  
 having been admitted to the foot of his throne,  
 addressed to him the following discourse by the  
 organ of the most aged among them, M. Martin,  
 president of the consistory of Geneva.

1804.  
 IMPERIAL  
 GOVERN-  
 MENT.

Sire—your majesty will now gratify the wish  
 which the reformed churches of France have  
 long cherished, of laying their homage and the  
 expression of their sentiments at the foot of the  
 throne. It is with the most lively satisfaction  
 that we come to express to your majesty, for

Speech of  
 M. Martin,  
 of Geneva,  
 to the Em-  
 peror.

1804. ourselves and our churches, our respectful gratitude for the protection which has been granted to us to the present moment, and our full confidence for futurity in the oath which your majesty has taken with so much solemnity, of which you have willed that we should be the witnesses, and by which, in engaging to maintain liberty of worship, you tranquillize our consciences and confirm the peace of the church. We wish that Frenchmen of all 'communities, whom we regard as brethren, may appreciate the value of this blessing as highly as ourselves: we deserve it from our fidelity, our gratitude, and our submission to the laws, of which we have constantly set an example. May our fervent prayers draw down upon your Majesty, upon the Empress, and upon the Princes of the imperial family, all the benedictions of the Monarch of the world! May your majesty, after having done so much for your glory, add to it the title of pacificator of all Europe, and have no other employment than to display those virtues, which, while they insure the happiness of the people, are the true glory of sovereigns, and the best support of their authority.'

Napoleon's  
reply.

" His majesty deigned to answer in the following manner:—' With pleasure I see the pastors of the reformed church of France assembled here. I seize with ardour this occasion to testify to them how much I have been always

satisfied with every thing that has been reported to me respecting the fidelity and the good conduct of the pastors and the citizens of the different Protestant communions. I wish it to be understood that my intention and my firm determination are to maintain liberty of worship: the empire of the law ends where the empire of the conscience begins; neither the law nor the prince must infringe upon this empire. Such are my principles and those of the nation; and if any one of my race, prior to his succeeding me, forgets the oath which I have taken, and, deceived by the inspiration of a false conscience, attempts to violate it, I devote him to public animadversion, and I authorize you to give him the name of NERO.' 1804-5.

"It is very easy to conceive what a deep impression such a discourse, proceeding from the throne, must make upon auditors little accustomed to hear the like from the mouths of kings; upon auditors, nearly all of whom had lived under the intolerant and persecuting despotism of a dominant religion: these consoling words were collected with avidity, and have been gratefully transmitted to all the churches in the empire."

In fact, Buonaparte seized every occasion to evince his friendship for the Protestants. He published decree after decree in their favour, and he had not long been raised to the imperial



1805-9. dignity before he restored to them the college of Montauban, which had been suppressed from the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes. By the extent of his conquests, his Protestant subjects were very considerable. It consequently entered into his policy not to treat these new subjects with indifference, as it was of great importance that he should secure their affections, and give them a preponderating influence against some of his old ones of the opposite tenets. The vast increase of the French empire, throughout the whole of which liberty of worship was allowed, and the rights of conscience respected, opened a field of labour for the Protestants, which, could they have embraced the favourable moment to cultivate, might have been productive of some of the happiest consequences. That unwieldy empire, composed, like the image of Nebuchadnezzar, of heterogeneous materials, has fallen to pieces at the first shock. It was indeed a tremendous scourge to Europe; but amidst the traces of desolation which it has left behind, the scene is enlivened by many monuments sacred to civil and religious liberty, the bases of which are so deeply fixed in the earth, that they may boldly bid defiance to all the ravages of time.

1814.  
LOUIS XVIII. Louis XVIII. having been placed on the throne by the allies, upon the abdication of Buonaparte, was received with much respect

and even joy by the Protestant ministers, who hoped that the tide of public opinion was now turned in their favour, and that the change of affairs would release France from that horrible expenditure of blood to which it had so long been exposed, on account of the conflict with the other Powers of Europe; though the Catholics in the South, before Louis had actually arrived in France, had even ventured to assert with an air of triumph, that the temples of the Reformed would be closed, and their preachers silenced, when the King returned.

1815.

The first acts of Louis were of a favourable kind. He published a circular letter, announcing free toleration to the Reformed, and he endeavoured to conciliate the esteem of the Protestant ministers, by presenting to one of them an order of St. Louis, and by profusely distributing that of the Lily, an Order of Fidelity, among a number of others, both ministers and students. But in a little time, when every thing seemed tranquil, he suffered himself to be surrounded by interested priests, who were imploring him to restore the churches which they had lost, and the church-lands which had become the property of the public and of the state.

At first favours the Protestants.

These subjects were constantly under discussion, while the Protestants were neglected; and afterwards neglects them.

a great complaint was made that their pastors

1815. had not in some instances received their usual stipends for a considerable time. The respect which the Protestants had long shared with the Catholics in society, began now to be exclusively claimed by the latter. They hailed Louis as *their own* king, and represented those of the opposite faith as disaffected towards the government. In the royal charter which announced the constitution, the Catholic religion was declared to be *the only religion of the State*, and the professors of all other religions were consequently deprived of that perfect equality which for many years they had enjoyed. Now the Catholics of the South shewed their malignant spirit.

The procession of the *Fête de Dieu* was revived, and the Protestants were insultingly ordered to hang out tapestry at their windows in honour of the Host, which they nobly refused to do, observing, that if they conceded in little things, they would soon be required to concede in greater. On the most frivolous pretences they were brought before the tribunals, false witnesses were suborned against them, and they were judicially condemned. The Catholics formed rings in the streets, in which they inclosed and ill-treated them. From every mouth were heard these abominable imprecations, "*We will no longer suffer amongst us those villains, those monsters of Protestants! we must rid our-*

*selves of them. The King will have but one religion—no more black heads—no more grilleurs;*" a term of reproach expressive of the fiery doom of the heretic. Nîmes, the metropolis of Protestantism, was naturally the seat of the principal conflict, and the object of the greatest envy. Here the sanguinary instigators of the persecution employed their most active agents; and great numbers of hired men, women, and children, in a state of intoxication, marched about the streets, and sung inflammatory songs in the *patois* of Languedoc, in which they repeated in chorus, that *they would wash their hands in the blood of the Protestants, and that with their liver and lights they would make a mess to feed on!* M. Boileau de Castelnau, the mayor of Nîmes, was a marked object of displeasure; and when he proclaimed Louis XVIII. in the public places of the city, the populace assailed him with stones. Castelnau at last resigned, and the Baron de Daunaut, another Protestant, was appointed mayor in his stead. His zeal, activity, and firmness, for awhile checked the progress of the persecutors; but they still dared to utter threats: they drew gibbets on the doors of the Protestants; and publicly soaped cords in their presence, with which they declared they would tie them to the gallows' prepared for their execution. Several of these gallows' were afterwards found at the house of one Fournier, an

1812.

1815. apothecary. In this state things remained for some time, and nothing prevented the Catholics from breaking out into open acts of violence but the presence of the Urban or city guard, which had been established towards the end of Napoleon's reign, and which, being indiscriminately composed of Catholics and Protestants, as long as it continued its functions, maintained some degree of order.

Louis was now busily engaged with the Pope in adjusting some disputes about the rights of the Gallic church; and his ambassador to the Court of Rome was on his way with some fresh propositions, when he was stopped in his journey by the re-appearance of Napoleon, who had broken from his retreat in the isle of Elba, and without the smallest opposition from the French people, once more ascended the throne.

1815.  
Napoleon's Re-  
storation.

On the return of Napoleon, the royal family fled in all directions. The Duke of Angoulême, the King's nephew, hastened to the South, in order to organize some royal volunteers, who were to be sent to Lyons, and was immediately surrounded by Catholics, who used every endeavour to prejudice his mind against their Protestant neighbours. Baron Chabaud de la Tour, known by the name of the Duke de la Force, obtained an audience with the Prince, warned him of the danger to which the Protestants were exposed, and explained to him the tenor of the

1815

songs which were sung till midnight under his windows; but he refused to give him any credit! The Catholics were more successful in their representations, and were allowed to denounce twelve of the principal Protestants, who were remarkable for their loyalty to the King. M. Vincent St. Laurent, counsellor of the prefecture, was arrested and conducted immediately to a state prison, under pretence that he had said Buonaparte was in Paris, a fact admitted by the Duke himself the next day. The populace accompanied him on his way, and shouted the most sanguinary vociferations against the Protestants. Orders were given to shoot the prisoner, if he attempted to escape; and M. Boyer Brun, advocate-secretary to the Prince, said, on seeing him pass, "At last we shall overcome those villains of Protestants."

The royal battalions were composed of the lowest rabble of the Catholics, and they would not allow the Protestants to enter among them; but some few attached to the staff of the General Merle remained in the ranks, and if things had taken a different turn, would inevitably have been sacrificed. Others, indeed, preferred staying at home: the treatment they had received from the royalists was no incitement to expose their lives in their service; and had they abandoned their wives and children, they would only have left them unprotected, to the mercy of

1815. their inveterate enemies. The Catholics had a hundred times said to them, "We are going to take Buonaparte, but we shall return, and then we will kill you all."

The royal cause having been lost, the Catholics had nothing to expect but ample revenge from the Protestants; but the pastors, the elders of the consistories, and the friends of order, used all their influence among the people who during eleven months had been insulted, calumniated, accused, beaten, and condemned, and exhorted them to peace. The ministers publicly recommended oblivion for the past, and the conduct of the Protestants even obliged their enemies to acknowledge their generosity.

A new constitution was now prepared, on the plan of a limited monarchy, certainly the wisest mode of government in the world; but it had scarcely begun to operate, and the Protestants had merely enjoyed a respite from the oppressions and degradations to which in many places they were exposed, when Buonaparte once more lost his imperial crown. The famous battle of Waterloo destroyed that army which was his last hope, and he was forced to abdicate by the Senate.

Restoration of  
Louis  
XVIII.

Louis XVIII. was again restored by the allies, and the fate of Buonaparte excited in the Protestants the most fearful apprehensions for their safety, especially in the South of France, as

they saw that the spirit of persecution was only suppressed, but was far from being destroyed. 1815.

The first act of the royal volunteers, who had escaped by flight from the authority of Napoleon, was to disarm the Urban guard, on returning to the city of Nîmes. About three hundred soldiers of the garrison, who had capitulated, were also butchered in coming out of the barracks, and their arms were mostly seized by the populace.

This was only the beginning of calamity. The months of July and August were full of horrors for the unhappy Protestants. Indignant that they should have been indebted to the Protestants for the lenity which they had received, the Catholics sought to take a sanguinary revenge. The cry of "*Down with the Huguenots,*" resounded through every street: massacre and pillage prevailed. Instead of the national guard, a new enrolment took place, composed of six times the number of men; but alas! they were mostly Catholic fanatics, who allowed the property of the Protestants to be devastated without resistance, and their murderers to remain undisturbed. Several hundred houses of the Protestants were pillaged, and the rabble forced their way into the magazines and warehouses of the richest manufacturers who had maintained them for ages.



1815. The poor also suffered, for the persecutors destroyed their looms, and all their implements of industry, knowing that by such a proceeding they would totally deprive them of the means of subsistence. The vineyards were at the same time laid waste, and the vines were torn up by the roots. Some of these contained the whole property of many of the industrious poor.

When the more public acts of violence terminated, new methods were resorted to by the depredators; they imposed contributions on the Protestants, which they could not refuse to pay but at the hazard of their lives. In this way immense sums were levied. In some cases pretended debts were extorted; and in others, receipts given to creditors where no money had ever been paid.

Not satisfied with these acts of cruelty, the mad barbarians thirsted for blood, and ran about the town, calling aloud for *another Bartholomew day*. Many of the women disgraced their sex by joining in these atrocities.

During these persecutions visits had been paid to the spot by several members of the royal family; but, from some unaccountable cause, it was always remarked, that the persecution was worse after their departure.

From the 17th of July to the 24th of August, when some Austrian troops entered the city of Nîmes, the greater number of persons were mur-

dered; but assassination, murder, and pillage, continued till the latter end of November. 1815.

The same scenes were recapitulated at Uzès, and in some instances with more cruelty. The Protestants were tried and executed by the populace, and the worst period of the Revolution was renewed. In fact, all the country round was a scene of desolation, extending beyond the department of the Gard into L'Herault, L'Aveyron, and other distant parts of the country.

Besides the places named, those that suffered most, were Montaran, Lussan, St. Cézaire, Milhaud, Uchaud, Bernis, Vauvert, Massilhargue, Aimargue, Lunel, Calvisson, Claransac, Gajan, Fons, St. Mamet, Boucoiran, Ner, St. Génies, St. Chaptès, Alais, Neres, St. Gilles, Ledignan, Aiguemarques, Ganges, Le Vigan, Pignan, and St. Afrique.

A great number of pastors fled, and were wandering in the mountains. Divine worship was every where interrupted or suspended. Six thousand inhabitants of Nîmes deserted their habitations to their cruel enemies, and a few that had saved some wrecks of their property, established themselves in distant parts that were more tranquil, where they endeavoured to employ as many of their suffering brethren as circumstances would allow. From the appearance of the country, it might have been supposed that the edict of Nantes had just been revoked. The roads

1815. were covered with mothers, bearing their infants in their arms, and leading their young children, without knowing where they should procure food or shelter, and many died by the way, of want and fatigue.

During this period the system of proscription was adopted; and the attorneys and advocates resolved not to retain any in their service, nor to receive any into their bodies, but *Roman Catholics*. This determination excluded from every means of subsistence all those poor creatures who had lost the entire fruits of their labour, and even the instruments by which they provided for their families by honest industry. The wealthy Protestants who had yet saved some portion of their property, assisted these wretched victims of persecution; and their few poor brethren, who had not lost their all, cheerfully shared their scanty pittance with them; but these resources could only afford partial relief. The Rev. Clement Perrot of Guernsey, who afterwards visited Nîmes to ascertain the facts, saw twelve, fifteen, or twenty, crowded together in one room, with nothing but straw to lie upon, and sometimes without food for several days. Hence many poor creatures were driven to the necessity of changing their religion, or perishing with their families, as their Protestant masters could not employ them, and the Catholics would not. Groups were therefore sometimes

seen going to mass, where they were rebaptized like Jews or Heathens; and the Paris papers had the audacity to boast of these converts, the fruits of a savage cruelty that would have disgraced the darkest ages of Christendom. 1815.

At length, on the 1st of September, a proclamation was issued by the king, on the disturbed state of the southern provinces; but, instead of producing tranquillity, and procuring safety for the Protestants, their churches remained closed and massacres were still perpetrated, for *no decided measures were taken to punish a single actor in these scenes.*

In the months of October and November, General La Garde, then commandant at Nîmes, exerted all his influence to save the Protestants, and prevented one massacre of them by his timely interference; but he at length became the victim of Catholic rage.

The Duke of Angoulême having recently visited the city, prior to his departure had ordered the Protestants to re-open their temples. They entertained some fears respecting the consequences that would ensue, but, in obedience to his commands, on the 12th of November they ventured to open one only. That they might not irritate their enemies, they did not even ring their bell, but informed each other privately that there would be worship. Notwithstanding this caution, the brigands assem-

1815. bled, insulted them as they passed along the streets, and occupied the steps leading to the temple. The General dispersed them, and the service commenced; which was soon interrupted by the clamours of the mob, who violently pressed through the guard of *gens d'armes*, and with terrible execrations entered the place. They were speedily expelled, and the worship continued with closed doors; but they made repeated and desperate attempts to burst them open, while the old men, women, and children within were uttering the most dreadful cries of distress, and clasping each other in agonies of despair, not finding any avenue to escape the cruelties with which they were menaced. In this state they remained three quarters of an hour. The national guard of the city were ordered to protect the Protestants, who replied, "*We will not expose ourselves for such villains.*" The General procured a double guard elsewhere, to defend the worshippers in quitting the temple, but, notwithstanding, they exercised some acts of violence on the persons of some old men and women. The officiating pastor fled to his house, with his wife by his side and his child in his arms, assailed with stones by a horde of the ruffians. The President of the Consistory, a venerable pastor of seventy years of age, was also pursued by the populace, who cried out, "*Kill, kill this chief of brigands,*" and owed his

safety only to the devotedness of some officers, who surrounded him with drawn swords, and kept off the assailants. 1815.

Indignant at this outrage, the noble Count de la Garde, mounted on his horse, was in the act of approaching a crowd of persons to disperse the mob, when a villain seized his bridle, while one Boisset, a sergeant of one of the battalions of royal volunteers, fired a pistol and wounded him most severely. The General immediately gave orders to the commander of the *gendarmerie* to protect the Protestants, galloped to his hotel, and fainted. On reviving a little, before the surgeon had dressed his wound, he wrote a letter to the government, to inform them who was the criminal, that, in case of his death, no one might accuse the Protestants. In the course of some days the ball was extracted. It entered the left side near the heart, and was found near the right shoulder.

When the brigands saw that the General was wounded, they assisted the assassin to escape, and gave vent to their feelings of malignant joy and cruel revenge. They returned to the temple, broke open the doors, and destroyed every thing that it contained, even to the books and the pastoral gown, and carried off the whole of the money intended for the relief of the poor.

The prefect published an insipid proclamation,

1815. offering a reward for the assassin of the General; but in a country where the police is almost omniscient, the wretch escaped observation.

A courier was dispatched to the Duke of Angoulême, to inform him of these events. He immediately returned, expressed his displeasure to the national guards, had an interview with several members of the consistory, and ordered the temples to be opened. The Catholics were enraged at these orders, and the Protestants were terrified for the result; for, in their rage, the persecutors did not spare even the prince himself, calling him Buonapartist and Protestant.

The prince quitted the place, and the day after his departure the general of division, Briche, published a proclamation at Nîmes, the principal paragraph of which began by applauding the very men who had refused to protect the Protestants:—" *Brave national guard! the prince is reconciled to you: he never believed that you had changed. Your prefect and your general have easily convinced him that the disturbances which have agitated Nîmes these three months past, are occasioned only by the malevolent enemies of government!*"

On the 26th of November, the regiment of Marie-Thérèse arrived in the city, and tranquillity was restored. From that time the depredators committed their most daring acts of violence in

the night, when they went in masked parties to farms and solitary houses, exercising every kind of rapine and cruelty. 1815.

In the month of December, two pastors and an elder of the consistory were summoned to the prefecture, where they found the prefect, the mayor, and the colonel of the national guard. They proposed to them to give up their temples, which the Catholics beheld with the greatest uneasiness in the possession of the Protestants, promising to build them two others, either at the expence of the government or of the city. One of these churches had been, before the Revolution, a convent of Dominicans, and the other was called the Great Convent. An individual had purchased one for ten thousand francs, and the other was granted to the consistory by the government of the emperor. It was useless for the Protestants to resist, and after some explanation, they consented to the proposal. The Duke of Angoulême aided the Catholics to make the purchase by a subscription from his private purse. If the new places are ever erected, it is intended that they shall be without the city, and at either extremity.

During this dreadful persecution, it is estimated that the property pillaged amounted to *five millions of francs*. Three hundred and fifty houses were destroyed, the largest manufactories were ruined and shut up, and the silk trade, so



prosperous in Nîmes under the late government, now flourishes no more. Besides the church at Nîmes, those of Uzès, Montagnac, and Courtonteral, were plundered; and those of St. Afrique, near Aveyron, and Pignan, near Montpellier, were burnt down. *Two hundred women were murdered, and about two thousand men.* The Catholics pursued their prey with the most barbarous rage. Six thousand escaped from their fury into the mountains, others concealed themselves wherever they could find shelter till the storm was over. All those that were found in the dwellings were massacred. The name of *Protestant* was a sentence of death.

It would swell these pages to a large volume, to enumerate all the atrocities committed. The murderers brought out their victims into the street, and cut their throats before their own doors. Many were also butchered in the fields. Those who quietly surrendered prisoners were equally murdered. Individual acts of cruelty were committed which almost exceed credibility.

One Gerisseur, the steward of the estate of Guiraudin, was stretched over a fire till he expired, when he was taken down and his body exhibited to passengers.

Eight persons of the same family, named Le Blanc, lived in the same house. Seven of these were murdered by a ring-leader in these villanies,

named Trestaillon, and his associates. Two of them, who made some resistance, they brought out into the street, and cut to pieces on the threshold of their own habitation. The others they strangled.

Five persons of the family, of Chivas were immolated. One of these had been, for some time, confined in his room by illness. Trestaillon went to his lodging, and finding his wife on the staircase, asked for her husband. She shuddered at the sight of the murderer of her brethren, and hesitated what to answer. He saw her alarmed, and told her that she need fear nothing, for he intended no harm. As he appeared without arms, she suffered him to enter the room of her husband. He found André Chivas in bed, and approaching his bedside with all the appearance of interest and tenderness, enquired after his health and the medical treatment he had received. The sick man had not been apprized by his friends of the violences that had been committed, lest the news should shock his feelings so as to prevent his recovery, and received all the enquiries of the villain with perfect composure. Trestaillon then took him by the hand, and said, "They have not treated your disease properly; I am the better doctor, and will cure you immediately." He then drew a pistol from his pocket, and blew out the brains of his

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victim in the presence of his wife, who shortly afterwards shared the same fate.

A farmer's servant, named Ladet, was entering Nîmes with a cart-load of hay and straw. He was met by a band of ruffians, who bound him with the cords that fastened his load, made a pile of the hay and straw, placed him on the top, set fire to it, and danced round the flames, singing *Vive le Roi*, till the poor creature was burnt to ashes.

A Protestant, who accidentally remained in the national guard after the rest of his community were expelled, was one night going out with a picquet with some Catholics, when, by the light of the moon, he descried some dead bodies. On examining them, they proved to be his wife and daughter, who had been murdered as they returned from the country. Yielding to the feelings of nature, he instantly gave vent to exclamations of grief and despair. His barbarous companions, recognizing his connexion and religion, remarked that it was a pity he should be separated from those he so much loved; and having shot him, left him to expire on the bodies of his beloved relatives. He lingered till the next morning, and was found with just enough strength to tell the melancholy tale.

Many women were treated with extreme cruelty and indecency. Their clothes were tied

over their heads, and they were struck on all parts of the body with pieces of board into which nails were driven in the form of a *fleur-de-lis*. Young girls, women in a state of pregnancy, and persons whose venerable looks should at least have afforded them protection, all alike shared the most cruel fate. No language can sufficiently describe the barbarous deeds that were committed amidst the shouts of *Vive le Roi*.

The chief agents in these crimes ought to be held up to everlasting infamy. Let the civilized world hear it with astonishment, that they have hitherto escaped all punishment for these crimes under the civilized government of Louis XVIII.!!! But verily there is a God, that judgeth in the earth, and a day of solemn retribution must inevitably come, when the most exalted delinquents, of all ages, however secure in this world, shall meet with a righteous retribution from the KING OF KINGS and LORD OF LORDS. .

The ringleader of the murderers was a fellow of the name of Lafont, nicknamed Trestalion, from a provincial word which signifies *three pieces*. The regal authorities took this man from the class of labouring men, and appointed him to be captain of a company. Murder and pillage accompanied him at every step. He boasted that he had killed *forty* Protestants with his own hand, and only desired to complete the number

of *fifty*; and, according to his own confession, he accumulated no less than *two hundred thousand livres*, which he procured from his victims. This wretch attempted the life of La Garde, by firing at him, but was seized and thrown into prison. He was once released, and imprisoned again; however, to the disgrace of the French magistracy, and as a plain proof of the spirit existing towards the Protestants, he has never suffered the punishment due to his crimes!!!

M. Bernis is also ranked among the agents in these cruelties. He was appointed Special Commissary in the Gard by the Duke of Angoulême, and elected to the Chamber of Deputies after the massacre of the Protestants. It is said, that, by the desire of the Duchess of Angoulême, he drew up the paper against the Protestants, entitled "Authentic Details," which was circulated in London in the columns of the Courier newspaper. A letter which Bernis wrote to the Duke of Angoulême on the state of the Gard, is full of spleen against the Protestants, and of artful insinuations of their disloyalty.

M. Trinquelagué is mentioned as another of these persecutors. He is Advocate-General to the Royal Court at Nîmes, and one of the Deputies of the department of the Gard. He pronounced an address to the Duchess of Angoulême, relative to a vow of the royalists at Nîmes, made at the altar in 1814, to present her Royal

Highness with a *silver child* in the event of her giving birth to a son. Trinquelague was always a notorious enemy to the Protestants, though, in the prosperity of Buonaparte, he was violently attached to his government. In the year 1790, he was accused before the Constituent Assembly, of having sought to excite a massacre of the Protestants at Uzès. This persecutor has recently been appointed to the office of Secretary to the Minister of Justice, in the room of Guizot, a Protestant, who has been displaced!

Calvière, temporary Prefect of the department of the Gard; Vaugué, commander of a battalion of royal volunteers; and M. de Val-longue, *now Mayor of Nîmes*, are likewise named as decided foes to the Protestants; and the latter has been heard to say, that *a second St. Bartholomew was necessary!*

The public must and will judge where the fault could lie, when all these villanies could be committed for months together without any effectual exertions being employed to terminate them, and without the punishment of the most daring criminals, who have escaped justice in the open face of day. Let them put facts together, and conclude for themselves. A pamphlet, detailing the enormities committed in an early stage of the persecution, was drawn up at Paris, and presented to the king as soon as published; but, though it contained nothing but a state-

ment of simple facts, it was immediately suppressed by order of the police. A petition, presented to the king, was received *sub silentio*. A counter-statement was published, in answer to the suppressed pamphlet, and allowed to have free circulation. Letters, denying the facts, were *extorted* from the presidents of the consistories and other ministers, with a view to their circulation in England; and M. Maron, the president of the consistory at Paris, having visited England at the time, was, on his return to France, called before the police, and closely examined as to the motives of his journey, which were supposed to be connected with the interests of the Protestants. M. Perrot, who visited the south of France with a view to ascertain the truth of the reports for the information of the dissenting ministers in London, was narrowly watched at every step by the police, and attained his object with the greatest difficulty. The Marquis of Argenson endeavoured to call the attention of the Chamber of Deputies to the massacre at an early period, but was cried down. The Duke of Angoulême visited Nîmes repeatedly during the perpetration of the horrid deeds which have been related, but they still continued. Many of the most daring murderers were screened from punishment by a decree of the Court of Cassation, which ordered no examination to take place respecting the disorders

at Nîmes previously to the 1st of September. The Protestants were all disarmed, and left wholly at the mercy of their Catholic adversaries. The authorities under whose eyes these murders were committed, were still allowed to remain in power. A forced loan of four hundred thousand francs fell chiefly upon the Protestants, *seventeen* Catholics only paying a proportion; while the rest was demanded of a hundred and forty-seven Protestants and ten Jews. Protestants were removed from all the public offices, and Catholics appointed to occupy their places. M. de Fare, Bishop of Nancy, a pure and bigotted Papist, was put into the place of director of public worship, a situation giving him controul over the reformed as well as papal church. The schools upon the British system, which during the last reign had been established at Paris under the superintendence of M. Martin, a Protestant minister, which alike educated Catholic and Protestant, were newly organized for the children of Catholics only, all the Protestant teachers being removed. The *time* of effecting this change was not very favourable to the Protestant cause in the south; and the alternative left to the Protestants, to educate their own children, presented many difficulties in their oppressed, impoverished, and alarming state.

Attempts have been made to throw a veil over these proceedings, that they may not disgrace



the accession of Louis XVIII.; but the truth cannot be concealed, and a number of testimonials furnished from France by respectable witnesses, too painfully corroborate the facts which have been stated.

It is a singular and incontrovertible truth, notwithstanding assertions have been made to the contrary, that the Protestants have been the only victims in these affairs, a proof that they do not suffer merely as Buonapartists; or otherwise those Catholics who were known for their attachment to his cause, would equally have perished. This clearly shews that they have been the victims of A SANGUINARY AND SYSTEMATICAL PERSECUTION; and that the Catholics, after having been so long restrained, embraced the first favourable moment to embrace their hands once more in the blood of their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

The governments of Europe viewed these transactions with a lamentable indifference, too easily persuaded that the sufferers were either rebels, as they were described by some of the persecuting authorities; that the affair was only partial and temporary, as announced by others; that it was grossly exaggerated, or even did not exist at all.

In the mean time, the body of Dissenters in England interested themselves in the matter with a most noble spirit of commiseration, dis-

dain to enjoy their own advantages in silence, while their Protestant brethren in France were groaning under such oppressions. One result of these exertions was the movement of other great bodies in the same cause, among which the Corporation of the enlightened City of London stood foremost.

Contributions were solicited from the Dissenting Congregations, both in England and Scotland, and large sums were collected for the relief of those who had suffered the loss of all things for conscience' sake. The Ministers of the British Government were also intreated to use their good offices in behalf of the persecuted, and very readily consented to become their advocates.

The Committee of the Three Denominations especially exerted themselves, and were indefatigable in procuring information and publishing documents.

Some of the public papers and periodicals were, however, very active in misleading the public mind, and these obtained temporary triumphs by the extraordinary failure of a petition from the City of London to the Prince Regent, and the ill success of a motion in behalf of the French Protestants, by Sir Samuel Romilly in the House of Commons, which was strongly opposed by Lord Castlereagh, who lately returned from a long residence at the Court of France.

It is with much regret that the writer is under the necessity of concluding this history with these gloomy facts. Happy will he be to find that they are not the forerunners of future persecution, and that Europe is not rapidly retrograding towards the days of mental slavery, when its whole surface presented a vast *aceldama* through the ravages of superstition.

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State of  
Religion  
among the  
Protest-  
ants.

There are five hundred and seventy churches in France. The number of Protestant ministers is estimated at two hundred and fifty; among whom are to be found devoted men, who mourn over the decay of piety in their church; and who are trying to adopt measures which they trust will, under the divine blessing, produce a revival of vital religion. One circumstance is particularly unfavourable to any combined efforts for this purpose; the Protestants cannot yet hold any grand synod without the permission of Government, and the disturbed state of affairs has for many years prevented them from requesting that privilege: the only intercourse which they can therefore enjoy, as a body, is at the ordination of any of the young ministers, when as many assemble together as circumstances will allow.

Favour-  
able  
prospects.

Professor Encontre has had it in contemplation for some time to publish a periodical work

that shall be an echo of those published in England, in which are reported all the works of benevolence and piety that are transacting in the United Kingdom and throughout the world. From such a work we may anticipate the most beneficial effects, and the renewal of the friendly intercourse between France and England will, it is hoped, be the means of establishing a good understanding between Protestant Christians on each side of the water.\* It is a pleasing circumstance, that the most friendly disposition exists among the French Protestants towards their brethren in England of every denomination; it is not therefore too much to hope for many mutual advantages as the result of a better acquaintance with each other.

Montauban is now the only university which Protestant University. supplies the reformed church of France.† Since the first abdication of Buonaparte all connexion with the university of Geneva has been broken off, the separation of which from France is not to be deplored, as it is no longer the nursery of the great Reformers; it holds in low estimation the deity of the Saviour, and “Ichabod” is written upon its walls.

\* This work is suspended for the present, owing to the recent persecutions.

† Montauban, though called an university, is properly a college belonging to a Catholic university, but set apart by the government solely for the instruction of Protestants.

The university of Montauban has six professors: M. Encontre, president of the consistory, and dean of the faculty, who lectures on theology; and it is a happy circumstance that it devolves upon a man imbued with the spirit of Calvin, to explain the doctrines of Revelation: M. Frossard, late president, teaches Christian morals, and the eloquence of the pulpit: Professor Borrard instructs the students in the sacred languages; on Professor Pradel devolves the task of biblical criticism and ecclesiastical history; to Professor M. Benedict Prevost belongs the department of rational philosophy; and M. Marche assists the classes in the Greek.

The course of studies at Montauban does not, however, prepare many distinguished theologians; and the same defect which appears in our British universities, prevails there to a considerable degree.

Constitution of the Reformed Church.

The constitution of the reformed church is *Presbyterian*. It is divided into consistories, containing a certain number of ministers. Of these consistories there are eighty-nine. The consistorial church is always in some place, the population of which contains a large proportion of the reformed worshippers; a number of smaller towns are attached to it, which form what is called the *arrondissement*, and which are served by the ministers of the consistory, in the same manner as some of our smaller villages in England are, by the curates of large parishes in the

vicinity, just as circumstances may allow. In some of the principal places there are several congregations of three or four thousand persons each. The total number of churches at the present time is two hundred and thirty.

The Protestants are now mostly to be found in the south of France; but before the treaty of Paris there were large numbers of Lutherans, of the Confession of Augsburgh, who inhabited the northern boundaries of the empire. The number of the reformed at that period have been reckoned by some at seven millions, but by others reduced to five; they do not now amount to one million and a half. So great a deduction from the first estimate, leads us to doubt the accuracy of that statement, though they have been common sufferers in the war, and much diminished by intestine conflicts. They have long held their property, as well as their lives, by a precarious tenure; and as they have been excluded from the dignified professions and the honours of the state, the greater part now are merchants, bankers, agriculturists, manufacturers, and artisans, and have by their industry accumulated considerable wealth.

All religions are equally supported by the government of France; so that the Protestants, as well as the Catholics, are paid by the state, and a certain number of persons, forming a convenient *arrondissement*, can claim a church and

Numbers  
and Occu-  
pations of  
the Re-  
formed.

Manner in  
which the  
churches  
are sup-  
ported.

the usual support; but it is customary for the churches to augment the salaries of the ministers by voluntary contributions.

**Mode of  
Worship.**

In conducting the worship of the reformed church, the following order is observed. The service commences with the reading of the scriptures by a person employed for the purpose, not necessarily in orders. The commandments are then distinctly pronounced; after which the pastor reads a short prayer from the liturgy which is commonly used. The congregation having sung a psalm, he utters a brief extemporary prayer, and proceeds with the sermon. This is closed by another prayer from the liturgy, and a hymn of praise, when he dismisses the assembly with the benediction.

**Conclud-  
ing Re-  
flections.**

WHEN we view the vast population of France, and look at the state of religion in that country, we cannot but be deeply affected at its condition. Twenty-five millions of souls are there sitting, for the most part, in the darkness of infidelity and superstition; and where the light of the Reformation has not been totally extinguished, it has long been only as the glimmering of a dying flame, emitting at best but a dim ray athwart the universal gloom. Would to God that "pure and undefiled religion" might prevail throughout that extensive country! Were the energies of the French once directed to the propagation

of the gospel, it is probable they would never stop in their career, till they had been the means of evangelizing the whole world. .

Yet there is cause for devout admiration and thankfulness, when we behold how the providence of God has overruled all the late commotions in France for the promotion of his own cause. He has made the wrath of man to praise him by preserving the liberties of the reformed church, amidst the general desolation with which it has been surrounded, and at a moment when infidelity threatened to crush it for ever, and to extirpate whatever of real religion superstition and bigotry had suffered to remain. A precious seed yet vegetates there; and though it be but small, let us cherish the hope that it may shortly increase a thousand fold.

When we reflect upon the sufferings of the reformed church of France, they call to our recollection those sufferings which were formerly endured in this country from the same cause, and should place us upon our guard against the ascendancy of Popery. Not that the writer would advocate the withholding from the Catholics those rights which they have always withheld from others;—this looks too much like a system of retaliation, so contrary to the spirit prescribed in that command, “render not evil for evil, but contrariwise blessing.” It furnishes the Papists with an apology for their past crimes, who



would point to Protestants, in this case, as treading in their steps: it justifies the same arbitrary practices in other states which are Catholic, who will not fail to exclaim, that the same proscriptions exist respecting the Catholics in Protestant states: in short, it is, in its most favourable construction, only doing evil that good may come. What have a man's religious sentiments to do with his political rights? For these he is responsible only to God and his own conscience; and every kind of proscription on account of religious opinions, is nothing less than **PERSECUTION!** But the best guard which British Christians can employ against Popery is active zeal. Let diligence oppose diligence—let the genuine spirit of liberty, and the doctrine of the universal rights of conscience, be diffused far and wide—let the holy scriptures continue to be extensively circulated among all classes of the people—let the poor be taught to read them; and let knowledge be advanced in all its branches, and by every possible means. God forbid that the tree of liberty which is planted in Britain, should ever be scorched and burnt up by the re-kindled fires of persecution; but let no measures be countenanced for its preservation but those which agree with the rights of all as men and as citizens, and with the mild spirit of the Christian faith. It is better to be the persecuted, than to bear the guilt of the persecutor.

The persecutions to which the French reformed church has always been exposed, excepting for a very short interval, call upon us to exercise unfeigned gratitude to God for the religious liberty with which Great Britain has for many years been so signally favoured. We owe this, partly to the admirable constitution of our country; a constitution which was formed by consummate wisdom, and is founded upon the broadest basis of genuine liberty; and partly to the mild spirit of THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK, in supporting a fabric so nobly reared by the hands of our WILLIAM III. of immortal memory. Nor would it be just to omit here the name of GEORGE III. who, whatever opinions may be formed respecting his political measures in the eventful period of his reign, has obtained to himself a name ever to be revered in the churches, as THE ENLIGHTENED FRIEND OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.\* May his last days yet brighten, and his end be PEACE!!

\* The writer cannot here suppress a pleasing circumstance which lately transpired:—he was visiting a spot near one of the royal palaces, where the Dissenters now worship God without interruption, but where they were formerly exposed to very violent persecution. On asking the cause of this change, he was answered, “*We owe it to our REVERED SOVEREIGN.* He was one day passing through this place in his carriage, when the rabble were gathered together to interrupt the worship of the Dissenters; his Majesty stopped to know the cause of the hubbub, and being answered it was only some affair between the towns-people and the *methodists*, he replied, loud enough to be heard by many, “*The*

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The noble struggles of the reformed church of France for the preservation and restoration of religious liberty, will shame us, as Britons, if we ever tamely submit to the abridgment of our privileges, and should urge us, by every constitutional means in our power, to rally round those laws which are the bulwark of our rights, both as men and as Christians. The first inundation of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny upon the reformed churches of France, was but the earnest of that future destruction which laid waste the temples dedicated to the worship of the true God, and banished myriads from their native soil, to seek that asylum in foreign lands which was denied them by their own countrymen.

And here we cannot but adore and tremble, when we behold the retributive justice of the Almighty, in the recent revolutions in France, and especially in the cruelties inflicted upon the Catholic clergy, who were called to endure those sufferings from the vengeance of infidelity, which they, in their superstitious zeal, had inflicted upon the unhappy Protestants. Besides several millions of French who have fallen in a war of twenty-five years, which has more or less scourged

methodists are a quiet, good kind of people, and will disturb nobody; and if I can learn that any persons in my employ disturb them, they shall be immediately dismissed."—THE KING'S most gracious speech was speedily re-echoed through the whole town; and persecution has not dared to lift its hand there since that period."

every nation in Europe, two millions felt the avenging hand of God in the horrible massacres of the Revolution, which extended, like the persecutions inflicted upon the Protestants, even to the unborn babe that perished with its butchered mother; and the blood of no less than twenty-four thousand priests, which was shed by the merciless hands of infidelity, seemed to silence the voice of that blood which had so long cried for vengeance from under the altar of heaven. Their churches were razed to the ground, or left in ruins, like those of the oppressed reformed; the rights of conscience were denied to them, as they had denied them to others; they were banished as the innocent Protestants were banished by them; their estates were confiscated as they had confiscated the estates of others; and they obtained their chief asylums in the same countries whither they had driven the scattered churches of the reformed for refuge. The foreign Protestants returned good for evil to these persecutors, who, imbued with the spirit of their fathers, were obliged to seek shelter in the hated bosoms of heretics. Can we call these facts to recollection, together with the devastations of the Papal territories, without exclaiming, "Verily, there is a God that judgeth in the earth!" "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints!"

SIMPSON, in his *Plea for Religion*, has contemplated the subject in the same light:—"The serious *Christian* will remember these are the days of vengeance for the innocent blood that was shed in that wide-extended kingdom, under the predecessors of the late unfortunate king, (Louis XVI.) The doctrine of *retaliation*, though little attended to in general, is an undoubted law of God's kingdom, in the government of the world. A *moral* governor must be *morally* just. 'He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' Barruel's *History of the French Clergy*, during the *Revolution*, and Peter Porcupine's *Bloody Bogy*, contain an awful counterpart to Claude's *Complaints of the Protestants of France*. The *French philosophers* have scarcely been more cruel to the *clergy of France*, during the *Revolution*, than the *clergy of France*, at different periods, have been to the *Protestants of France*. We are all crying out against the wickedness and cruelty of the present governors of that great kingdom, but we forget that the *kings, bishops, clergy, nobles, and gentry* of the land, played the same game and acted the same tragedy not very many years ago.—It is the *Lord's* controversy for the blood of his servants."

But let us turn from scenes, where, if persecution inspires the soul with horror, retribution fills it with awe, and anticipate with delight that happy period when the Catholic church shall be

purged from its impurities, and when the Reformed church shall no longer sit in sackcloth, nor yet tremble for her safety; when the influence of "the man of sin," shall no more extend over France, nor any other country; when he "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped," shall be consumed "with the spirit of HIS mouth," and destroyed "with the brightness of HIS coming;" "to WHOM be glory in the church throughout all ages, world without end. Amen."



## APPENDIX.

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### NOTE I.

*The Vaudois, inhabitants of the vallies formed by the Alps between Piedmont and Dauphiné, had long been devoted Christians, when the light of the Reformation first dawned upon Europe.—page 1.*

By the recent changes in Europe, it seems that this unfortunate people are once more doomed to suffer the miseries of persecution. The following extracts are made from a pamphlet entitled, "Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Vaudois or Waldenses inhabiting the Vallies of Piedmont, recently received and translated from the original MSS. by the Rev. Thomas Morgan, Secretary to the General Body of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the three Denominations, and published by order of the Committee."

"Piedmont having submitted to France in the year 1800, the Vaudois were placed on the same footing with other subjects, and emerged from the state of slavery under which they had groaned for ages. This event was the dawn of their happiness; for the government abolished several Catholic cures, which were only an expense to the state, as well as evidently unnecessary by the small number of Catholics in those communes, and granted the funds which sup-



parted them for salaries to the Protestant pastors, whose means of subsistence were reduced exceedingly low, by the cessation of the royal grant from England in 1796.

The Vaudois foreseeing by the events of 1814, what was likely to be their condition, thought it necessary to depute M. Paul Appia, then Judge of the Peace, and M. Peyran, Pastor of Pramol, to wait on his Excellency Lord Bentinck, Commander of the British forces at Genoa, to request that he would take us under his high protection, and recommend us to the King on his return from Sardinia, that we might receive the same good treatment from him with his other subjects. The King arrived at Genoa while the Vaudois deputies were in that city, and Lord Bentinck had indeed the goodness to speak of us to our Sovereign, and to recommend us to his favour. This was about the 18th of May. Victor Emanuel arrived at Turin on the 20th, and on the 21st, he published a Manifesto, by which he put in force all the Edicts which his predecessors had issued. The inhabitants of St. John, availing themselves of the liberty which the French Government granted them, had at length built a church in the centre of their commune, and by the patents of the 30th of September, 1814, among other things, the King ordered the Intendant of the Province to compel us to shut up the church of St. John, as built beyond the strict boundaries to which we had been confined. This took place in consequence of a letter from that magistrate to the Moderator, on the 25th of November, 1814. Of such importance did Victor Emanuel consider the recommendation of Lord Bentinck, the representative of a great and generous nation which had replaced him on the throne of his ancestors! He chose rather to be influenced by the perfidious insinuations of his ministers, or his fanatical confessors, than to comply with the request of Lord Bentinck!"

"Immediately after the return of the King to his dominions, the Vaudois were deprived of all their employments, such as receiverships of the contributions, the places of collectors of the salt duties, secretaries of the communes,

judges, &c.; and their young men of merit, who had served with honour in France, were refused permission to enter the army, with the declaration that no Protestant officers would be received among the King's forces."

"Charles Emanuel III. who called us *his good and faithful* Vaudois, would not revoke one of the oppressive edicts, and we could not have any physicians or advocates of our religion, nor any military promotion above the rank of sergeant, excepting in the militia; whilst under the last (French) government, three attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, two or three that of major, and more that of chief of battalion, captain, lieutenant, and many received decorations. If they are dismissed from the service of France, what can they do, having no other resource than their military talents, which the King will not value at all in Protestants. The Vaudois avow their having the principles of liberty of conscience, and of breaking the fetters by which they had been bound for ages. Posterity will judge whether this be a crime before God, or even before men."

Thus are these poor people reduced again to endure the barbarous proscriptions of former ages; and among the blessings procured by British blood and treasure, during the late long and burdensome war, is to be reckoned the renewed oppression of the excellent Waldenses. The commune of St. John contains 2050 inhabitants, out of which 50 are Catholics; by the edict of 1672, this commune "was prohibited from having any temple or minister who should reside there and exercise any part of his function. In like manner, the inhabitants were prohibited from having schools; and were obliged to build a temple, and institute a curé on the territory of the commune of Angrogne. This circumstance, owing to the great distance of the centre of the commune of St. John, exposed their infant children to great danger in the winter time, when carried to be baptized." It has been observed in the above statement, that the useless Catholic curé was abolished by the late French government, and a chapel built convenient for the Protestants; but this is now shut up, they

are obliged to endure their former inconvenience, and a Catholic priest is replaced in his charge. All persons in the employ of the government are displaced; great numbers of pastors are positively reduced to misery. The old edicts are restored, by which the children of the sufferers are liable to be taken away, without resource, from their parents, and to be shut up in convents, and the most infamous oppressions have been practised. The present number of the Vaudois is 31,495, of which 1725 only are Catholics,

## NOTE II.

*Leclerc, the first leader of the church at Meaux, was the first martyr.*—p. 6.

Leclerc was the protomartyr of the Reformation in France, but *D'Artis* in his *Histoire Abrégé Des Martyrs François* 1684, gives an account of a female martyr a century before the Reformation. Catherine Saube was a native of Thou in Lorraine. It is supposed that her mind was convicted of some of the errors of the Roman church, and that in her zeal for the truth she was resolved to propagate it by the means most likely to ensure success. As her sex prevented her from mixing with men and drawing them from the paths of error, she resolved to enter a convent, that she might instruct the sisters of the same community. Accordingly, she was solemnly admitted at Montpellier the 14th of November, 1416, but the 2nd of October of the following year she was condemned to be burnt as an heretic. It is conjectured that this sentence was procured by the monks of the convent, whom she had endeavoured to convince of their errors; but being more attached to their ease and abundance than to the diligent investigation of truth, they took this method to get rid of her. The accuser was a Jacobin of the name of Raimon Cabasse, vicar of the inquisitor. Her crimes were,—disputing the infallibility of the church, the

adoration of the eucharist, auricular confession, and penitentiary. When sentence was pronounced, she was led to the place of execution by the provost of the town, but not without the sympathies of the people, who, deeming her sentence too severe, would have had a more lenient punishment inflicted upon her; in consequence of which the Bishop of Maguelonne, having performed a solemn mass, preached a sermon in which he endeavoured to shew that this girl had been justly condemned. Some time afterwards the convent was burnt with all the *religieuses* in it, lest the sentiments which she had propagated in it with success, should obtain a more general circulation!

## NOTE III.

*A young man rushed upon him with his sword: "Respect my grey hairs," said Coligni; the assassin answered by burying his sword in his body.—p. 49.*

The name of Coligni's murderer was Beme; he was a native of Wirtemberg, and educated in the house of the Duke of Guise. This man's end was a remarkable proof that divine justice will sometimes overtake the transgressor in the present state. "He was," says Bayle, "taken in *Xaintonge*, by the garrison of *Bouteville*, in the year 1575. He promised a great ransom, and to cause *Montbrun* to be released, whom the Catholics had taken in *Dauphiné*. The only desire of saving *Montbrun* kept *Beme* from being put to death, wherefore he was in great fear when he heard that *Montbrun* was executed; he bribed a soldier, who saved him on a good horse, with a pistol at his saddle bow. *Bertauville*, Governor of the place, finding that he was escaped, mounts on a cropt horse alone, and overtakes *Beme* and the soldier, and having no other weapon but a sword, makes at both of them; the soldier would not wait for him, but *Beme* cried out to him, thou knowest that I am a dangerous fellow, and fired his

pistol; the other, answering, I will not have thee to be so any longer, thrust his sword up to the hilt into his prisoner's belly."

## NOTE IV.

*Popish Commissioners were placed over all the affairs of the Protestants.—p. 72.*

The following is a specimen of the vexatious prosecutions to which the reformed ministers were subjected at this period. It was published as an appendage to an excellent sermon which was the subject of censure, and which the preacher printed in his own defence, to exculpate himself from the charge of disloyalty made against him by his Popish accusers; from which it is here translated.

*The Examination and Confession of Monsieur Morin, Minister of Moise, after taking an oath before God, that he would speak the truth. 1684.*

Having asked him his name, age, rank, and residence; he answers upon his said oath, that his name is John Morin, minister of the Reformed Church of Moise, aged about forty years, residing at the said Moise.

*Question.*—How long has the respondent been minister of Moise?

*Answer.*—He does not make himself responsible or answer to his prejudice, as he means to appeal against the information and decree which may now follow, or shall follow at any future period; yet that he may not seem to be disobedient to justice, he is ready to answer, and in consequence he replies, that he has been minister of Moise thirteen years.

*Question.*—Did he not assist at the Synod of St. Just on the fourth of last November?

*Answer.*—He did assist there,

*Question.*—Is it not true that he preached before any of the other ministers who preached there also?

*Answer.*—He also grants the undersaid interrogatory.

*Question.*—Does he not know that there are many declarations of his Majesty, which forbid ministers to preach in any other places than those in which their ministry is exercised, under any pretext whatever, and especially by a declaration of the year 1682.

*Answer.*—No declaration has ever come to his knowledge which forbade ministers to preach in any other places than those in which their ministry is exercised; and besides, he has not preached at the Synod of St. Just, but in consequence of the Act of the Synod held at Barbezieux the year before, which appointed the respondent to open the next Synod, which act he presupposed was sent to the Council, and upon which there was no revocation of Council.

*Question.*—If besides the infraction of which both himself and the other ministers who preached have been guilty, in preaching contrary to the declarations of his Majesty which forbade them, is it not also true that the said ministers and himself plotted together to preach unanimously against the calamity of the times, and the torments and severities which those of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Reformed religion, made them endure, under the name of their adversaries and enemies.

*Answer.*—He abides by the answers which he has given on the subject of the pretended infraction, that he has preached in other places besides his own; and as to the conspiracy of his colleagues and himself, the thing is impossible, and charity and the gospel which he preaches forbid it.

*Question.*—Does he not know that there are an infinite number of declarations of the king which forbid all those who make a profession of the Reformed religion, and particularly their ministers, to employ any other terms than those which are full of respect and deference for the Roman religion, and to use no other name than that of Catholic, in

speaking of those who make a profession of it; as also that the same declarations enjoin upon them neither to persuade nor corrupt those who make a profession of their religion, and have any inclination to change.

*Answer.*—He has never said any thing in his sermons nor in his conversations which was not conformable to the respect which he owes to the religion of the Roman Church, as being that which his prince professes; nor has he constrained any one to make a profession of the Reformed religion who wished to forsake it.

*Question.*—Is it not true that in the sermon which the respondent preached at the Synod of St. Jans, in the month of last November, he employed many allusions and comparisons, which by a figurative medium gave his auditors a frightful idea of the Roman Church, and of the state in general, and the sacred person of the King?

*Answer.*—With all deference he denies the said interrogatory as false and supposititious; for the respect and veneration which he ought to have for the sacred person of the King, has always been a preventive.

*Question.*—Is it not true that after the respondent had finished his discourse, not only all the Catholics who heard him, testified their astonishment at the frightful things which he had said in his discourse, but that the respondent was also warned by some of the ministers who heard him?

*Answer.*—He confesses the truth that he was warned by some friends, and among others by Monsieur Roussie, minister of Thomay-Charante, who heard the refutation which Father Roussie made of the respondent's discourse, in which refutation the said Father Roussie complained of some figurative terms, which the respondent had used in his sermon: and he asserts that the Commissaries of the King having complained the day after in full Synod, on the part of the said Father la Roussie, they were satisfied with the excuses of the respondent, and only enacted that the ministers should be exhorted to say nothing which was not conformable to the declarations of the King.

*Question.*—Is it not true that the respondent, agreeably to the preconcerted plan of all the ministers of the Synod, took for his text, ‘We have this treasure in earthen vessels,’ words from St. Paul?

*Answer.*—He grants that he took his text from the second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, the fourth chapter and the seventh verse: ‘But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of men.’

*Question.*—Is it not true that he proved in his sermon, that this treasure was the word of God, and the light of the gospel, and that the ministers were the earthen vessels?

*Answer.*—He grants that it is true that he said nearly what has been repeated in the said interrogatory, but that he considered the Apostles as the depositaries who called themselves earthen vessels; and that ministers were called to carry this light, that they by it might enlighten others.

*Question.*—Is it not true that he also said in plain terms, ‘I do not admire the conquests of the King, for in fact the weaker must yield to the stronger: but I admire the light of the gospel in earthen vessels, triumphing over governors, princes, and kings; that it was this treasure which had overthrown idols and their temples, which had made all the world to submit; that it should not excite astonishment if this light appeared to be half-extinguished at the present time; that there was still as much fire as ever; that there was no reason to fear, because the weaker party had often vanquished the strong; that small armies had defeated great ones; that flies had defeated legions; and that the light of the gospel, which appeared to be half-extinguished, could do the wonders which it had formerly done:’ and at last, turning towards the ministers, he said to them, ‘it belongs to you, in this unhappy time, it belongs to you, ministers of the holy gospel, to defend this treasure against those who assail it, since it is committed to you; you are indeed earthen vessels by your weakness, but you are capable of triumphing over all the world with this light.’



*Answer.*—The said interrogatory has perverted the entire sense of the expressions which the respondent used in his sermon; it has united what ought to be separated, and divided what ought to be joined; besides, there are some things supposed, applied in an ill-sense, and which make the respondent speak any thing at pleasure. He has always admired the conquests of the King, and prays God that he would always make his armies victorious and triumphant: and in the sermon about which he is interrogated, he uses these expressions: ‘We do not think it strange when we see the Alexanders among the Greeks, and the Cæsars among the Romans, marching at the head of those formidable armies, which carried terror every where, which beat down the thickest walls, which forced the strongest bulwarks, and which, breaking through the greatest difficulties, made themselves masters of the proudest cities in the world; we have seen this more than once, and our Cæsar the sun of France, teaches us in the history of the present times, that this is not a rare thing, much less impossible to brave soldiers, and noble captains.’ And the respondent, to elucidate his text, added, ‘but who can avoid surprise at beholding poor men, who never before made any noise in the world, who till then had lived in obscurity, the dregs of the people, and the outcast of mankind, marching with this equipage to encounter rulers, to make crowned heads tremble, and to force them to say that they were almost persuaded to be Christians; marching to overthrow idols, and to set the standard of the cross in their place, even subduing hearts, leading the thoughts captive and prisoners to the obedience of the Lord Jesus?’. And the respondent added, ‘must we not confess that it is the work of the great God, where we see the power of the sovereign God shining forth in so glorious a manner?’ and thus he glided into his text. The respondent adds, that shewing the excellency of the power of the treasure of the gospel, and the efficacy of the grace of God in the conversion of sinners by the ministry of feeble instruments, such as the Apostles, he said, ‘that if it had been of

men, we should have seen the strong overcoming the weak : but here, as it was the work of God, we saw ten or twelve persons triumph over all the world ; besides, the operation of these miracles without might or probability was no new thing ; that God, who at the beginning had created all things from nothing, could employ weak and despised men, to effect the wonders of grace ; we had seen armies destroyed by gnats, and multitudes defeated by other insects ; we had seen the Tower of Babel return into its nothingness by only the confusion of tongues ; we had seen the walls of Jericho fall at the sound of the rams' horns ; we had seen the terrific Goliath thrown to the earth by a young shepherd ; and three hundred men only simply armed with earthen vessels, in which they carried lighted lamps, had defeated the countless armies of Midian : and the respondent added, why should we now think it strange that God uses feeble instruments in appearance, to effect all the things of which the respondent had spoken, in the conversion of Jews and Gentiles. He likewise added, addressing himself to the ministers who should enlighten with this light chiefly in a time in which sin and corruption so much needed it, that he could safely say in this respect, that the times were unhappy, in which men were avaricious, ambitious, and voluptuous, allured by false good.

*Question.*—Why does the respondent attempt by so long and so perplexing an answer as that which he has just made, to disguise the truth, and the natural and evident consequence of all the examples which he has adduced before us, by insinuating the possibility of making the application to the avaricious, the ambitious, and the voluptuous, since it is certain that all these similitudes are only proposed in scripture to encourage the feeble and the innocent to hope, that they shall one day overcome their enemies, and those who oppose themselves to the progress of the gospel, which by the turn which he has given to all his similitudes, cannot be applied but to the Roman Church, and to those who are now the protectors of it by just and right means.

*Answer.*—The examples which he has cited are furnished by St. Chrysostom.

*Question.*—Where is the discourse which the respondent delivered at St. Just?

*Answer.*—It should be at Moiss.

*Question.*—Why, knowing that it would reply to the accusation against him of having preached rashly and seditiously, has he not brought it to us, since he had notice long since, that he was accused of having preached in this manner, and that we had lodged an information against him?

*Answer.*—If he has not brought his sermon, it is because he did not think that he should have been asked for it, and above all, for that part about which he has just been questioned.

Here the examination ended.

#### NOTE V.

*Many innocent victims were thrown into prisons and dungeons, and consigned to the whipping-post, the galleys, or banishment.—p. 73.*

The writer lately met with Martin's New Testament in quarto, at the house of a gentleman at Hackney, in which were preserved a passport of release from the galleys, and an explanatory letter of some interest. He begged permission to copy it, and has here given the original, accompanied with a translation.

*Pour Monsieur le Reverend Docteur Cheney, Chanoine de l'Eglise Cathedral de Winchester.*

MONSIEUR,

Voici le Nouveau Testament noté de Monsieur Martin, que J'ai fait racommoder, dont il me fit present lorsque J'étois sur les Galeres de France, pour la parole de

Dieu, sous la grande persecution de Louis Quatorzieme, ce que Je reçus malgré l'exactitude avec laquelle on m'observoit pour m'empêcher de jouir des consolations que ma très-longue,\* et très affligeante captivité demandoit. Le livre divin demeura beaucoup d'années avec moi dans les chaines ; mais la parole de vérité, qu'il renferme, n'étant pas liée, me fit vaincre le mensonge et l'erreur des papistes qui m'assaillit furieusement or Dieu ayant enfin rompu ma pesante chaîne, Je l'emportai avec moi comme le sujet admirable d'un miracle de sa Providence qui me le fit conserver parmi mille dangers éminens qui m'environnoient. Esperant, Monsieur, que ce que Je viens de vous dire vous le fera agreer avec plus de plaisir, comme un présent très-precieux. Souhaitant, Monsieur, que vous y puissiez lire du moins pendant autant d'années† que J'y ai leu, et y puissiez tirer la vie éternelle dont il est la source—vous priant Monsieur, de me croire toujours rempli de reconnoissance de l'affection chretienne dont vous m'honorez si agréablement, et avec un profond respect,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

JEAN SERRES, LE JEUNE.

Winchester, le premier Août, 1740.

Vu par nous, Conseiller du Roy,  
en ses Cef Intendant-  
General des Galeres de France,  
le 20 Mai, 1713.

N<sup>o</sup>. 7877.

[*Fleur-de-lis.*]

NOUS JEAN FRANÇOIS DE ROZEL ET CHARLES FRANÇOIS BLONDEL DE JOUVENCOURT, Conseiller du Roy, Commissaire Ordonnateur, et Contrôleur des Galeres de France : Certifions à tous qu'il apartiendra, que suivant les Ordres du Roy adressé à MONSIEUR LE MARECHAL DE TESSE, Chevalier des Ordres de sa Majesté, General des Galeres; et en son absence à celui qui les

\* 26 ans. † 42; l'ayant reçu à Marseille en 1696. ‡ Not intelligible.

commande : et à M. ARNOUL, Conseiller du Roy en ses Con-  
seils, Intendant-General desd. galeres, en datte du 17 Mai,  
1713, et à nous remis : Nous nous sommes transportez sur l'une  
desdites Galeres dite la *G<sup>de</sup> Reale* et trouvé le nommé  
*Jean Serre*, Forçat, âgé de 45 ans, natif de Montauban, con-  
damné par \_\_\_\_\_ a *Grenoble*, rendue le 24  
Mai, 1686, à servir sur les galeres de sa Majesté : *Lequel*  
*Jean Serre* nous aurions fait détacher de la chaîne en nos  
presences, donné pleine et entiere liberté, à condition  
neanmoins de passer sur le champ par mer dans les pays  
étrangers, et de ne plus rentrer dans le royaume, à peine  
d'être remis en galere pour le reste de sa vie, suivant lesdits  
ordres du Roi ; en foi dequoi nous lui avons fait expedier ces  
presentes pour lui servir et valoir ainsi que de raison.  
PRIONS et requérons tous gouverneurs, lieutenans de roy,  
maires, echevins, prevots, capitaines des ports, ponts et  
passages, de laisser seurement et librement passer ledit  
*Serre* afin de jouir de la liberté à lui accordée par sa  
Majesté. Délivré à Marseille sous le Sceau Royal de la  
Marine, le 20 Juin, 1713.

ROZEL.

MONTOLIEU.

BLONDEL \* \* \*

(L. S.)

*(The Royal Arms.)*

## TRANSLATION.

*For the Reverend Doctor Cheney, Canon of the Cathedral  
Church of Winchester.*

SIR,

This is the New Testament with the notes of Monsieur  
Martin, which I have had re-bound. He made me a pre-  
sent of it when I was in the Galleys in France, for the word  
of God during the great persecution of Louis the Fourteenth,  
and I obtained it in spite of the vigilance with which I was  
observed, to prevent me from enjoying any consolations  
that my very long\* and very afflicting captivity demanded.

\* Twenty-eight years.

This divine book remained many years with me in my chains ; but the word of truth which it contains not being bound, enabled me to overcome the falsehood and error of the Papists who assailed me furiously ; and God having at length broken my heavy chain, I brought it with me as the admirable subject of a miracle of his Providence who assisted me in preserving it amidst a thousand evident dangers which surrounded me. Hoping, Sir, that what I have just related to you, will make you accept it with more pleasure, as a very precious present ; wishing, Sir, that you may be spared to read it, at least as many years as I have read it,\* to draw from it that eternal life of which it is the source ; and intreating you, Sir, to believe me always filled with gratitude for the Christian affection with which you have so agreeably honoured me, I remain, with profound respect, Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

JOHN SERRES, LE JEUNE.

Winchester, August 1st, 1740.

### PASSPORT.

Seen by us, Counsellor of the King  
in his† Intendant-General  
of the Galleys of France, the 20th  
of May, 1713.

No. 7877.

[*A Fleur-de-lis.*]

WE, JEAN FRANÇOIS DE ROZEL, AND CHARLES FRANÇOIS BLONDEL DE JOUVENCOURT, Counsellor of the King, Orderly Commissary, and Contrôller (or Overseer) of the Galleys of France, certify to all to whom it belongs, that according to the orders of the King, addressed to MONSIEUR THE MARSHAL DE TESSE, Chevalier of the Orders of his Majesty, General of the Galleys, and in his absence, to him who commands them : and to MR. ARNOUL, Counsellor of the King in his Council, Intendant-General of

\* Forty-two. I had it at Marseilles in 1698.

† The words omitted are not intelligible in the original.

the said Galleys, dated May 17, 1713, and delivered to us: we have been on board one of the said galleys, the *Royal Guard*, and found the above named *John Serre*, galley slave, aged forty-five, a native of Montauban, condemned by \_\_\_\_\_ at Grenoble, given up the 24th of May, 1686, to serve in the galleys of his Majesty: which *John Serre* we have caused to be released from his chains, in our presence, and have granted full and entire liberty, on condition however that he shall instantly transport himself by sea into a foreign country, and never again return into the kingdom, under the penalty of being sent back to the galleys for the rest of his life, according to the said orders of the King; in faith of which we have drawn up these presents for his protection. WE PRAY and require all governors, lieutenants of the king, mayors, sheriffs, provosts, captains of the ports, bridges, and passes, to permit the said *Serre* safely and freely to pass, that he may enjoy the liberty granted to him by his Majesty. Delivered at Marseilles under the Royal Seal of the Marine, the 20th of June, 1713.

ROZEL.

MONTOLIEU.

BLONDEZ \*\*\*

(L. S.)

(The Royal Arms.)

## NOTE VI.

*Notorious cruelties were not indeed exercised during his reign, as in the reigns of Charles IX. and Louis XIV.; but some blood was spilt in the cause of religion.—p. 82.*

In the brief account of Louis XV. he is rather represented as passive than as giving any encouragement in the work of persecution. But it seems on further enquiry, that he carried his persecuting edicts to as great an extent as circumstances would allow; for in consequence of the severe measures of the former reign, he had less materials to work upon; however,

with the few that remained he shewed himself to be a worthy successor of the tyrannical Louis XIV. As the persecutions under this monarch have only been very briefly noticed, it is the design of this note to supply the deficiency.

During the minority of Louis XV. under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, the Government was more favourable to the Protestants than it had formerly been; but the administration falling into the hands of a Cardinal devoted to the *Jesuits*, by their influence a new declaration was issued on the 14th of May, 1724, which contained in it whatever was most severe in the edicts of Louis XIV. But without offering any animadversions, the reader is here presented with the copy, which is rather difficult to be procured at the present time :—

*The King of France's Declaration concerning Religion, given at Versailles, the 14th of May, 1724.*

LEWIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre: to all, to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Of all the great and important designs, formed in the course of his reign by the late King, our much honoured great-grand-sire, there is none, which we have more at heart, and intend to pursue and execute with more vigour, than the design he had framed, of totally extirpating heresy in his kingdom; a design which he thought worthy of his unwearied attention to the last moment of his life. With a view to carry on a work so worthy of his piety and zeal, we were no sooner come to age, but our first care was, to cause to be laid before us the edicts, declarations, and decrees of councils which have been published on that head, in order to renew the necessary provisions for that purpose; and enjoin all our officers, to take care, that they be observed with the utmost exactness. But having been informed, that for several years past, the said decrees have been but coldly and remissly executed, especially in the provinces that have been afflicted with the plague, and in which are to be found the greatest number of our subjects, who formerly professed the pretended Reformed religion; this neglect being owing to certain false and dangerous impressions, which some insincere and pretended converts to the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, actuated by sinister motives, have endeavoured secretly to insinuate during our minority: this, I say, having engaged us to renew our attention to so important a concern, we have, upon examination, discovered, that the principal abuses, which have crept in among



us, and which require a speedy remedy, regard chiefly the following particulars, *viz.* the unlawful assemblies; the education of children; the obliging all, who exercise any public function, to profess the Roman Catholic and Apostolic faith; the pains and penalties to be inflicted on those, who relapse into their former errors, and the solemnization of marriages; on all which we are resolved to signify in the most clear and express manner, what our will and pleasure is.

To this end, with the advice of our council, and of our own special grace, full power and royal authority, we have required and commanded, and by these presents signed with our own hand, do require and command; and our will and pleasure is;

ARTICLE I. That the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion *alone*, be exercised in our realms, dominions and countries; and we do *forbid all our subjects*, of what state, quality and condition soever, to practise any, except the said Catholic religion, or *to assemble for that end, in any place, and on any pretence whatsoever; under pain of being condemned to the Gallies for life, if they are men; and if women, of being shorn, and confined for ever, in such places as our judges shall think expedient; with confiscation of goods in either case: and even, under pain of death, to those who shall assemble in arms.*

II. Being informed, that there have sprung up, and still are springing up, daily in our realm, a great number of *preachers* whose sole business it is to stir up the people to rebellion, and to dissuade them from the practice of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion. *We do command, that all preachers, who shall call assemblies, preach in them, or discharge any other function, be put to death;* the punishment appointed by the declaration in *July 1686*, for the ministers of the pretended Reformed religion; which we would not, for the future, have any one esteem a mere threatening, which will not be put in execution. We do likewise forbid our subjects, to receive the said *ministers or preachers*, to conceal, aid, or assist them, or have directly, or indirectly any intercourse or correspondence with them: we farther enjoin all those, who shall know any of the said *preachers*, to inform against them to the officers of the respective places; the whole under pain, in case of trespass, of being condemned to the galleys for life, if men; and if women, of being shorn, and shut up the remainder of their days, in such places as our judges shall think expedient; and, whether they be men or women, under pain of confiscation.

III. We require and command all our subjects, and particularly those who have heretofore professed the pretended Reformed religion, or whose parents made profession of it, that they cause their children to be baptized in the parish-churches, where they live, within four and twenty hours after they are born, unless they

have obtained leave from the archbishops or the diocesan bishops to defer the ceremony of baptism for some weighty reasons: we farther enjoin, that all midwives and others, who assist women in the time of delivery, do give notice of the birth of children to the curates of the respective places; and that our officers, and the officers of our *high justices*,\* do keep a strict hand in this respect, and punish offenders by fine, and even by greater punishments, if the exigence of the case require it.

IV. As to the education of the children of those, who have heretofore professed the pretended Reformed religion, or, whose parents made profession of it, our will is, that the edict of January 1686, and the declarations of the 13th of December 1698, and of the 16th of October 1700, be put in execution, in every particular therein contained; moreover prohibiting all our subjects, to send their children to be educated out of the kingdom, unless they have first obtained leave of us in writing, signed by one of our secretaries of state; which we shall not grant, without being sufficiently satisfied, that the parents are true and sincere Catholics; and this, upon pain, in case of trespass, of a fine of six thousand livres, at the least, or more in proportion to the estates and abilities of the parents of the said children; the said fine to be renewed every year, so long as the said children shall, in defiance of our prohibitions, remain in foreign countries: in which respect, we enjoin our judges to keep a strict hand.

V. Our will is, That all possible care be taken to settle in all parishes, where they are not already provided, school-masters and mistresses, to instruct all the children of both sexes, in the principal mysteries and duties of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion; to carry them to mass, all ordinary working days, as much as may be; to give them the instructions, they stand in need of on that subject, and to take care, that they attend divine service on Sundays and holidays; as also, to teach them to read, and even, if need be, to write: the whole, as shall be ordered and appointed by the archbishops and bishops, pursuant to the twenty-fifth article of the edict in 1695, concerning the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And that this our will may be the better effected, our farther pleasure is, that in places where there is no other fund for that purpose, there be a tax laid on all the inhabitants for the sum requisite to the settling

\* Those persons, who are called in several places of this ordinance, *hauts justiciers*, *high justices*, are lords of manors, who have the privilege, within their own district, to cause a capital punishment to be inflicted, and to judge of all manner of causes, either civil or criminal, those excepted in which the King may be concerned. There is an appeal from their sentences. See le *Dictionnaire de Trevoux*, article *justice*.

the said masters and mistresses, to the amount of one hundred and fifty livres per annum for masters, and an hundred for mistresses : and that all the patent letters necessary to that purpose, be granted without expence, on the advices which the archbishops, and diocesan bishops, and commissaries appointed throughout our provinces for the execution of our orders, shall give us on that subject.

VI. We enjoin all fathers, mothers, tutors, and others, who are concerned in the education of children, particularly of those whose fathers and mothers professed the pretended Reformed religion, or were born of Protestant parents, to send them to the schools and catechisms till fourteen years of age ; and from fourteen to twenty, cause them to attend the instructions on Sundays and holidays ; unless they be persons of such quality and condition, that they may, and must have them instructed in private, or send them to college, or put them into monasteries, or other regular societies. We enjoin all curates to be particularly careful in the instruction of the said children in their several parishes ; even of those who have done going to school. We exhort, and at the same time enjoin the archbishops and bishops, to make diligent inquiry into that matter ; and we command all persons of the most noble extraction or most considerable posts, to lay before them an account of the children they have in their families, when the archbishops or bishops shall require it in the course of their visitations ; and give them an account of the instruction they have received in religion. We also command our judges, attorneys, and those of our *high justices*, to make strict inquiry, and give all necessary orders for the execution of our will in this respect ; and to see, that those who shall be remiss in their duty, and rash enough to disobey, in any manner whatsoever, be punished by fine, to be levied provisionally, notwithstanding an appeal, to any sum, which they shall think proper.

VII. The better to secure obedience to the preceding article, our will is, that our attorneys, and the attorneys of our *high justices*, cause to be laid before them every month, by the curates, vicars, school-masters, or mistresses, or others, of whom they shall require this care, an exact account of the children which are not sent to school, nor attend catechisms and instructions ; with their names, ages, sexes, together with the names of their parents, to the intent, that the fathers and mothers, tutors or guardians, or others concerned in their education, may be proceeded against in a proper manner ; and that they take care, at least every six months, to give account to our attorneys-general, each in their respective jurisdiction, of the prosecutions they have carried on in this behalf, to receive from them all necessary orders and instructions.

VIII. The assistance of a spiritual guide being never more,

necessary, especially to those of our subjects, who have lately been restored to the communion of the church, than in time of sickness, when the health of body and soul are equally in danger; our will therefore is, that the physicians, and in their absence, the apothecaries and surgeons, who shall be sent for, to visit sick persons, be obliged, unless they see it has been already done, to give notice to the curates or vicars of the parishes, where the said sick persons dwell, as soon as they shall judge the disease dangerous, to the intent, that the said sick persons, particularly those lately returned to the communion of the church, may receive from them, such instructions and spiritual consolations, as they shall stand in need of, together with the assistance of the sacraments, when the said curates or vicars shall find that the sick persons are in a condition to receive them: and we enjoin all relations, servants, and others, who are about the said sick persons, to give them admission to the sick, and receive them with the decency becoming their character. Our will likewise is, that those physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, who shall neglect their duty in this particular, and in like manner, the relations, servants, and others about the said sick persons, who shall refuse to introduce the said curates, vicars, or priests, sent by them to the sick persons, be condemned to pay such a fine, as our judges shall see cause; and also, that the physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, for the second offence, be suspended, as the exigence shall require.

IX. We, in like manner, enjoin all curates, vicars and others, who have cure of souls, to visit with great care and diligence, the sick of what state or quality soever, particularly those who have heretofore professed the pretended Reformed religion, or whose parents made profession of it; that they may, in private and without witness, exhort them to receive the sacraments of the church, and give them all necessary instructions for that end, with the providence and charity suitable to their office: but if, in contempt of their exhortations and wholesome counsels, the sick persons refuse to receive the sacraments offered to them, and declare openly, that they are resolved to die in the pretended Reformed religion, and persist in the declaration they have made during their sickness: our will is, that if they recover of their sickness, they be arraigned and convicted by our bailiffs, and senechals, at the requisition of our attorneys, and that they be sentenced to perpetual banishment: with confiscation of goods; and where confiscation does not take place, to a fine which shall, at least, amount to half the value of their estate: if, on the contrary, they die in this wretched disposition, we order that their memory be arraigned by our said bailiffs and senechals at the requisition of our attorneys, in the forms prescribed

by the articles of the chapter or Tit. XXII. of our ordinance of August 1670, to the end, their said memory may be condemned, with confiscation of their goods; derogating from the other punishments contained in the declaration of the 20th of April 1686, and that of the 8th of March 1715, which shall be put in execution in every thing, which shall not appear contrary to the present article: and in case there be no royal bailiwick in the place where the fact is committed, our provosts, and judges royal, and if there be none, the judges of the *high justices*, shall inform and send informations, by them drawn up, to the registers of our bailiwicks and seneschals jurisdictions, on which the said judges depend, or, which take cognizances of matters relating to the crown, in the extent of the said justices, that the cause may be there tried and decided, with the proviso, that an appeal may be made to our courts of parliament.

X. Our will is, That the contents of the preceding article be put in execution, without needing any other evidence to prove the crime of a *relapse*, than the sick person's refusal of the sacraments of the church offered to him by the curate, vicars, or others, having cure of souls, and the declaration openly made, as above; and the said refusal and open declaration, shall be sufficiently proved by the deposition of the said curates, vicars, or others, having care of souls, and of those who were present at the time, the said declaration was made; without making it necessary for the judges of the place, to be present at the house of the said sick persons, to draw up a verbal process of their refusal and declaration; and without the said curates, or vicars, who have visited the said sick persons, being obliged to require the presence of the said officers, or to give them information of the refusal and declaration made to them; derogating in this respect from the declarations of the 20th of April 1686, and the 8th of March 1715, in whatever may be contrary to the present and foregoing article.

XI. And forasmuch, as we are informed, that, what contributes most to confirm the said sick persons, or cause them to relapse into their former errors, is the presence and exhortations of certain concealed *religionists*, who attend them secretly in that condition, and make an ill use of the prejudices of their childhood, and of the weakness they are reduced to by their sickness, to persuade them to die out of the bosom of the church; we do order, that they, who shall be found guilty of this crime, be arraigned and convicted by our bailiffs and seneschals, as above; of which our provosts, or other royal judges, may give information; even the judges of our *high justices*, in the places where the fact was committed, if there is no bailiwick or royal jurisdiction of *seneschal* in the said places; provided always, that the information be sent to the royal bailiwick,

as above, to have the process continued by our bailiffs and *seneschals*; that those, who are found guilty, may be condemned; if men, to the galleys for life, or for a time, as our judges shall think proper; and if women, to be shorn and locked up in such places, as the judges shall appoint, for life, or only for a stated time; which we leave, in like manner, to be determined by their discretion.

XII. We order, That, according to the ancient decrees of our royal predecessors, and the custom of this realm, none of our subjects may, or shall be admitted *into any office* of judicature in any of our courts, bailiwicks, seneschals, or provost's jurisdictions; nor into those of *high justices*; nor even into the places of mayor and sheriffs, and other officers of the Guildhall of any town, to enjoy them in their own right, or by deputation, or otherwise; nor in like manner into the offices of register, attorney, notary, tipstaff, or sergeant, of any jurisdiction whatever; nor, in general, into any public office or post, whether in their own right, or by commission; not even into any place in our royal palace or palaces, without a certificate from the curate, or, in his absence, from the vicar of the parish, where they live, of their good life and conversation, *and of their actual conformity to, and practice of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion.*

XIII. Our further pleasure is, *That no licence be granted, in any of the universities of this kingdom, to those that have studied either law or physic, but upon like certificates granted them by the curates*; which certificates shall be by them presented to those who are to grant the said licence; and of which certificates, mention shall be made in the letters of licence, which shall be granted them; or else they shall be null and void: we do not, however, mean to tie up strangers to this rule, who shall come to study and take degrees in the universities of our kingdom; provided, that pursuant to the declaration of the 26th of February 1680, and to the edict of March 1707, the degrees on them conferred be of no use to them within our dominions.

XIV. No physicians, surgeons, apothecaries or midwives; no booksellers or printers may, or shall, be admitted to exercise their art and profession in any place within our realm, without producing a like certificate; of which mention shall be made in the letters granted to them, as well as in the sentence of the judges, with respect to those who are to take oath before them, without which the whole shall be null and void.

XV. Our will is, That the ordinances, edicts, and declarations of the kings our predecessors, with regard to marriages, and particularly, the edict of March 1697, and the declarations of the 15th of June of the same year, be put in execution, according to their form

and tender, by our subjects newly converted to the Catholic faith, as by all our other subjects; we enjoin them, to observe, in the marriages, which they shall contract, the solemnities prescribed, not only in the sacred canons, received and observed in this kingdom, but also by the said ordinances, edicts and declarations, upon the pains and penalties therein mentioned, and even of exemplary punishment, as the exigence requireth.

XVI. The children, who are minors, whose fathers and mothers, tutors or guardians, have left the kingdom, and retired to other countries, on account of their religion, may make a valid contract of marriage, without waiting for, or asking the consent of their said absent fathers or mothers, tutors or guardians; upon condition, however, that they take the advice and consent of their tutors or guardians, if they have any in the kingdom; and if not, of such as shall be created for this purpose; together with the consent of their kinsmen and relations, if they have any; or, where kinsmen and relations are wanting, with the consent of their friends and neighbours: to which end our will is, That before they proceed to the contract and celebration of marriage, there be a meeting before the *Judge Royal* of the places, where they make their abode, in presence of our attorney; and if there be no *Judge Royal*, before the ordinary *Judge* of the said places, the *Fiscal Attorney* of Justice being present, of six of the nearest kinsmen and relations by father's or mother's side, who practise the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, besides the tutor or guardian of the said minors; and in default of kinsmen and relations, of six friends or neighbours, of the same quality, to give their advice and consent, if occasion be; and all deeds and writings in this case necessary, shall be drawn up without any expence\* whatsoever; and in case there be only the father or mother of the said minors out of the kingdom, it shall then suffice, to call together three kinsmen or relations of him or her, who is out of the kingdom; or in their defect, three neighbours or friends, who, together with the father or mother present, and the tutor or guardian, if there be any besides the father or mother, shall give their advice and consent, if occasion be, to the marriage proposed; of which consent, in all the cases above noted, summary mention shall be made in the marriage contract, which shall be signed by the said father or mother, tutor or guardian, kinsmen, relations, neighbours or friends; as, likewise in the register of the

\* Here the original mentions several offices, wherein fees are commonly paid on such an occasion; which, as we have not the same in *England*, cannot be expressed by proper *English* words: It runs thus; *Seront les Actes pour ce nécessaires, expédiés sans aucun frais, tant de Justice, que de Sceau, Contrôle, Insinuations ou autres.*

parish, where the said marriage shall be celebrated; in which case, the children shall not incur the penalties contained in the ordinances against minors, marrying without the consent of their parents; for which purpose, we have derogated, and do derogate, in this respect only, from the said ordinances, which shall be, in every other particular, executed according to their form and tenor.

XVII. We do forbid all our subjects, of what quality and condition soever, to consent and approve of their children, or pupils, marrying in foreign countries, either by signing the contracts, which may be made in order to the said marriages, or by any prior or subsequent act, for any cause or on any pretence whatsoever, without our permission express, and in writing, signed by one of our four principal Secretaries of State, upon pain of being sent to the galleys for life, if men; and of perpetual banishment, if women; besides confiscation of goods in both cases; and where confiscation would not take place, on pain of a fine, amounting, at least, to half their estate.

XVIII. Our will is, That in all sentences and decrees of confiscation of the goods of those, who shall incur that penalty, pursuant to the different orders of our present declaration, the Judges of our several Courts order, That, when estates lie in countries, where confiscation does not take place, or when the estates are such, as are not subject to confiscation, or will not be confiscated to our use; in such cases, the said estates shall be charged with a fine amounting, at least, to half their value; which fine, as well as the confiscated estates, shall be disposed of in the same manner, as those of the absent religionists; and employed with the revenue of the said estates, for the relief and support of our subjects newly restored to the communion of the church, who shall stand in need of such assistance: the same shall hold good in all other fines, of what nature soever, to which the offenders against this our present declaration shall become subject, without the receivers or farmers of our demesnes having any pretensions to them. Wherefore, we give order to our well-beloved and trusty counsellors, members of our courts of parliament, and to all others our officers and justices, whom it may concern, that they cause these presents to be read, published, and registered, and the contents thereof to be kept and observed in every particular, according to their form and tenor: for such is our good pleasure.

Given at Versailles, the 14th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1724, and in the ninth year of our reign.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

And lower,

By the KING.

DAUPHIN, Count of Provence.

Phelypeaux.

And sealed with the great seal of yellow wax.



Under the prohibitions of this edict the Protestants had no remedy but to worship by stealth. Lest, however, they should expose themselves to unnecessary danger, and afford any excuse to their adversaries arising from their numerous assemblages, their ministers used every means in their power to prevent too many from congregating at a time. They sometimes gave notice very late on Saturday, that divine worship would be held at seven o'clock the next morning; and although the notice was so short, they would find several thousands ready to hear them. On one occasion one of them was unexpectedly surrounded by near two thousand persons, who earnestly intreated him that he would preach unto them the word of God, which he did.

At length the Protestants assumed courage, and in 1743 they begun in Languedoc to assemble in a more public manner. Those of Dauphiné followed their example in 1744, pursuant to a decree of their Synod, held the 7th of May; and kept in that manner the day of Pentecost, which happened to be the 24th of the same month. The other provinces which abounded most with Protestants, did the same: in some of them the magistrates suffered them for awhile to go on quietly; some tolerating, and some seeming to approve of their behaviour. In August, 1744, a rumour was generally spread all about Montauban, and in the adjacent provinces, that the Court was inclined to let them pursue a design, which they were entirely bent upon: encouraged by it, they met oftener, and in much greater numbers, and solemnized a much greater number of marriages and christenings.

This provoked the Popish priests, who being afraid that they might thereby be deprived of the casual profits that would accrue to them from the performance of those rites, left no stone unturned to stir up the jealousy of the Court, and the bigotry of the people; and by raising the most odious calumnies to arm the secular power against them.

Dauphiné was the province where the Protestants met with the first and strongest opposition.

The bishops and clergy of the province laid before the parliament of Grenoble the heaviest complaints against the Protestants. That senate appointed four of its members to enquire into the grounds of them. Many people were summoned before them. The questions which the reformed were asked plainly shew the nature of the crimes laid to their charge: these are some of them,—*Whether their preachers did not exhort them to rebel against the King?\** *To pray for the Queen of HUNGARY, and the success of the arms of ENGLAND? To rescue by force their children out of the nunneries in which they had been confined, and to murder all the nuns?* These accusations were silenced by the innocence of the accused; but in vindicating themselves they were put to a considerable expence. The clergy however persevered in their efforts to crush the Protestants, and though for some time the Court was averse to any violent measures, the repeated applications of the persecutors at last prevailed.

In March 1744, the senate began to shew their disposition, by arresting one *James Vieu*, and one *Des Rougieres*, for having had their marriages solemnized by ministers of their own communion; and by confining these unhappy persons in a gaol, where they remained for many months.

Soon after, numbers of people, ladies and gentlemen, per-

\* Those persons must be little conversant with the artifices of the old Bourbon Government, on the subject of persecution, who can suffer themselves to be duped relative to the recent transactions in the South of France, by the cry of *politics* and *rebellion*. In all former persecutions the same cry has uniformly been raised, and when the Protestants were prohibited from having places of worship, even their very assemblies were forbidden under Louis XV. on the ground that they were too *numerous*; that, begetting a kind of *enthusiasm* in those that resorted to them, they might *pave the way to a REBELLION*; and that consequently no wise government could bear with or connive at them. Their best grounded, their most humble petitions, could not find admittance to the King, and the worst constructions were put upon them; their very professions of loyalty being accounted sedition.—*Vide Popery always the same*, p. 12 & 47.

sons of all ranks and professions, were taken up; the ladies were sent into nunneries; some for life, as the Marchioness of *Montjoux*; and several for a limited time. In 1745, their number amounted to a hundred and eighty in Dauphiné only. Some were sentenced to be whipped, some to be pilloried, some to be marked with a hot iron; others suffered the ordinary and extraordinary rack; some were burnt in effigy; near two hundred were outlawed; some banished after a long confinement; others fined, in the sums of two, three, or four hundred livres each, and upwards; and the estates of others were entirely forfeited.

A detachment of the *Marechaussée* (a kind of militia) supported by regular troops, and attended by the hangman, were sent about the whole province, to make the strictest enquiries after the Protestants. They spread terror wherever they came. On the 20th of January, 1745, they endeavoured to seize one *Rolland*, a minister, but a Mr. Paul Achard warned him of his danger and saved him. For this kind act the latter was condemned to have his shoulders branded with a hot iron, and to be a galley-slave for life.

One *Bernard de Volvans*, lord of a petty manor, oppressed the Protestants most cruelly: he pillaged and plundered many of their houses, and molested their persons in a variety of ways, but for all his injustice and cruel proceedings he was never called to an account.

In February, 1745, one *Stephen Arnaud* was arrested at *Dieulefit*, for having taught some young people to sing David's Psalms, and was condemned by the Parliament of *Grenoble*, to be branded with a hot iron on the shoulder, and to be put in the pillory. The New Testament and the Psalms were hung about his neck when punished.

At the beginning of 1745, Louis published his ordonnance against the Protestants, enforcing the former edicts, and making it death to the minister who officiated, with perpetual imprisonment for the women, and galleys for the men, who had been present at the meetings.

Soon after, the vengeance of superstition fell upon Mr.

James Roger, a venerable minister, eighty years of age, who had served the churches of Dauphiné with indefatigable zeal for thirty years. During his whole life he shewed himself a truly apostolical man. When he stood before his Judges, he answered them with so much firmness and humility, that they could not help admiring him. On the 22d of May, he was sentenced to be hanged on the Piazza of *Dubrueil*, in *Grenoble*, merely for having performed the function of preacher in several Protestant assemblies, and in divers places of the provinces. Persecutors are never at a loss for an excuse; and the apology was, his having forged an edict favourable to the Protestants, to induce them to assemble together. Being apprized in gaol of his sentence, he took the first opportunity to step into the adjacent yard, from whence he could easily be heard by many confined Protestants; and told them, that, "The happy day was come, wherein he was to seal with his own blood the grand truths which he had preached unto them; and exhorted them, to be steadfast and unmovable in the religion which by the grace of God, they had hitherto professed." This he did in so moving a manner that every one shed tears. About four in the afternoon of the same day he was carried to the place of execution, repeating with a loud voice the 51st Psalm. Some of the Papists themselves wept at his death. After his body had hung twenty-four hours, it was taken down, dragged through the streets, and thrown into the river *Isere*, that runs through the town: such was the burying-place assigned for him.

The death of this good man struck terror into the Protestants of Dauphiné, and the ministers fled for shelter till the storm should pass away. The laity, deprived of the word of God, crossed the Rhone in great numbers to worship in the *Vivaraïs*; but the watermen were soon prohibited from ferrying them over, and soldiers were quartered upon them to keep a watch over their actions. It would occupy many pages to enumerate all the miseries which were endured by persecuted individuals in Dauphiné, and which were but a continuation of those inflicted under Louis XIV.

In Languedoc the same spirit manifested itself, and the same violences were committed, but the greatest fortitude was discovered amidst these sufferings. Two daughters of Mr. Combs, an attorney, were escorted by a detachment of the *Marechaussée* from *Montauban*, to *Cahors*, and it is said they addressed themselves from their coach to all the Protestants they met, in these affecting words, which drew tears from every eye: "We are going into exile, and we go with pleasure. Do not despond: let your zeal continue the same for resorting to our holy assemblies; God Almighty will shew himself our guardian and our deliverer."

In this unhappy province the religious assemblies of the Protestants were constantly exposed to interruption; they were fired upon and dispersed, and the principal worshippers fined, imprisoned, sent to the galleys, and subjected to every kind of cruelty. *Puy-Laurens*, *Castres*, *St. Foi*, *NIMES*, *Uzés*, *Vigan*, *Ganges*, *Alais*, &c. were peculiarly obnoxious to the government. *NIMES* in particular paid 4,800 livres, besides 300 for fees, on account of judicial proceedings.

A lawyer of Nîmes named *Rey* is honourably mentioned on account of the Christian fortitude which he displayed. "This gentleman was lately released out of the citadel of *Montpellier*, where he had been confined for about a year. The magistrates did then all that they could to extort from him a promise, that he would never again resort to the assemblies of the Protestants; but he shewed himself so averse to such an engagement, that he declared to them, he could be contented to remain in gaol, upon condition, that he should have leave to join every Sunday with his brethren, in the public worship of God, and be bound to surrender himself prisoner the day following; adding, that if they scrupled taking his word, he would give them a legal security.

In *Vivarais* the like measures were pursued. *Mr. Desubas*, a worthy minister, who served the Protestant churches of that province, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Papists who were watching his motions. He was arrested

near *St. Grece*, and the next day a detachment of soldiers was appointed to escort him to *Vernoux*. Two thousand Protestants, men, women, and children unarmed, met them upon the road, and begged for the release of the prisoner. The lieutenant who commanded replied that his duty forbade him complying with their request, but advised them to follow him and apply to the magistrate. On reaching the town they were assured that their request should be considered, and that they should have reason to be satisfied. But while they were waiting for success, the Catholics fired upon them from all quarters; thirty-six were killed upon the spot, and two hundred wounded. *Desubas* was afterwards executed. Every effort was employed to persuade him to turn Papist, but he nobly refused, and his conduct made such an impression upon the Intendant himself, that when he condemned him to be hanged, he said, *He was grieved to pronounce sentence of death against a man of so much merit, but that he was forced to it by the king's declarations*. His execution, which took place in February, was very cruel. He was ordered to walk to the place where he was to suffer, having his legs naked, only socks on his feet, and a thin linen waistcoat about him without sleeves. All his papers and books were burnt before him at the foot of the gallows; just before he was executed a crucifix was offered him to kiss; but he turned it aside, and died with his eyes fixed on heaven, whither he was hastening. Thus perished this fine young man, in about the twenty-sixth year of his age.

It must not be omitted, that *Mr. Rochelle*, the master of the house where *Desubas* was taken, was condemned to the galleys for life, and all his property was confiscated.

Such were the blessings enjoyed by the Protestants under the reign of Louis XV.; to be a Protestant minister was death, to shelter him was the punishment of the galleys. They were obliged to live together as man and wife on each other's word, or be married in the Catholic church; they were constrained to have their children baptized by a Papist, and when grown up to send them to the Popish schools, or pay a severe penalty;

if a friend or relation administered consolations to a dying Protestant, though of the same faith, if a man, he was to be sentenced to the galleys, and if a woman, she was to have her head shaved and to be confined where their tyrants might think proper; and to complete the cruelty, worse than Charles IX. who did allow his Protestant subjects to depart the kingdom, by the laws of Louis XV. they were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to go out of the kingdom, or to sell an inch of their lands. These have been the miseries of the Protestants in France.—May they never be revived!

### NOTE VII.

*Louis XVIII. having been placed on the throne, was received with much respect, and even joy by the Protestant ministers.—p. 108, 109.*

Extract translated from the Circular Letter of the University of Montauban, addressed to the Presidents, Pastors, and Elders of the Consistories.

Peace and prosperity! how could we possibly hope to realize these blessings so soon? After twenty years, Providence has shewn us by a continued series of calamities, that without the BOURBONS, France could neither be prosperous nor happy. He had decreed in his justice, that he would not pardon the martyrdom of a good king, but at the moment in which his august brother should be proclaimed the heir of his throne, as he was of his virtues. The period of trial is at length terminated: immediately the successor of Louis XVI., recalled many years since by the secret wishes of all good Frenchmen, re-enters his kingdom surrounded by the only escort fit to protect his return, that goodness, the rich portion of his ancient dynasty, that eminent genius, that rectitude of reason, that profound wisdom, and those evangelical virtues, purified by so many

misfortunes, which had already gained for him the esteem of of all Europe. He is returned: ~~Immediately~~ Providence has developed all the prodigies of his love in our favour. Our battalions, which all Europe leagued together could never overcome, have been conquered by the only power truly worthy of being opposed to them with success: they have been conquered by the love of the French for their good, their legitimate sovereign. The peace of the world has followed a war of extermination. It presents itself to us with a brow encircled with lilies and olive branches, uniting together the most opposite opinions, and confounding all sentiments in the same love for the BOURBONS. Nor do the blessings brought by our Monarch terminate here: we owe to him a constitution which sanctions the rights of his people: we owe to him the return of all the French to the religion of their fathers, the sacred basis of public order, and good morals. In fine, the descendant of the good Henry, has for our sakes, set his seal to innumerable benefits. Yes, to use the sublime expressions of the wise and eloquent minister of his gracious pleasure,\* liberty of conscience, that domain of God, will henceforth be respected; the ministers of worship will be equally protected, and their demands equally weighed in the balance of justice."

Part of the consistorial letter to the church at Nîmes has been published by Mr. Perrot, and an extract from a sermon of Juilleret, one of the pastors of Nîmes, to the same purport; and in the last edition of the STATEMENTS the writer has himself made an extract expressive of the warmest loyalty, from the sermon of M. Frossard on the peace. Many other documents might be published of a similar kind, all of which shew that the Protestants are not the furious Buonapartists which they are represented to be by their enemies; and that whatever they may believe, they do not propagate the principles of sedition.

\* Letter of his Excellency the Minister of the Interior, to the Presidents of the Consistory, dated the 29th of May.



## NOTE VIII.

*A Petition presented to the King was received sub silentio.*  
—p. 130.

PETITION addressed to Louis XVIII. by the principal  
Protestants of Nîmes.

Paris, July 30, 1815.

Sire,

We lay our acute miseries at the foot of your throne: in your name, in the name of the most clement of princes, our fellow-citizens are plundered and assassinated. A misled body of peasantry, in supposed obedience to your orders, have assembled at the command of a commissioner invested with powers from your august nephew:—although ready to attack us, we received them with words of peace.

The example of the capital could not fail to be followed by the chief city of the department of the Gard. A convention, on parole of honour, was agreed upon between the deputies of the municipal council of Nîmes, and the Sieur René de Bernis, your commissioner, and Field Marshal Barré, commanding in your name.

On the 15th we learnt your Majesty's glorious entrance into Paris, and the white flag was consequently displayed on our edifices; public tranquillity was undisturbed, and ought to have remained so.

When the armed peasantry entered our walls, they attacked the garrison, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, quartered in the barracks; on being summoned to surrender, they capitulated, and delivered up their arms and artillery; but they were assailed on their departure, and nearly all massacred. The greater part of our National Guard, which had hitherto preserved tranquillity, was now disarmed. Strangers paraded the city, and the houses of the principal inhabitants of the Protestant religion were attacked and plundered. We subjoin a list of them. The disorder continued during the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, and

had not entirely ceased on the 22nd. Terror had driven some of the chief inhabitants of our city from their dwellings.

It would be deceiving your Majesty to conceal, or to endeavour to diminish the horrors which have rendered desert our good city of Nîmes; arrests and proscriptions have taken place, and difference in religious opinions is the only real cause of them.

The Protestants, Sire, who are calumniated, are defenders of the throne. Your august nephew has beheld our children under his banners—our fortunes have been placed at his disposal.

To serve with fidelity, to love your Majesty, we ask for nothing but peace and protection.

Although attacked without cause, the Protestants have not, even by a just resistance, furnished their enemies with a ground for calumny.

As interpreters of their sentiments, their devotedness, their fears, and their hopes, we throw ourselves with just confidence at your feet.

Save us, Sire; protect your children; extinguish the fatal brands of religious and civil war. A single act of your authority will suffice to restore political existence to a city rendered interesting by its manufactures and population. Demand an account of their conduct from the chiefs who have brought about miseries, which they should have foreseen, and yet have not prevented.

We lay before your Majesty an exact detail of the facts, and all the documents which have reached us.

The hearts of our unfortunate fellow-citizens are paralyzed, and their complaints stifled by fear. Placed in a more independent situation, we have dared, in a respectful manner, to raise our voices in their behalf; and to shed, in the presence of the father of the country, bitter tears for our present and our future situation.

We are, with profound respect,  
Sire,

Your Majesty's &c. &c.

## NOTE IX.

*And here we cannot but adore and tremble, when we behold the retributive justice of the Almighty, in the recent revolutions in France, and especially in the cruelties inflicted upon the Catholic Clergy, who were called to endure those sufferings from the vengeance of infidelity, which they, in their superstitious zeal, had inflicted upon the unhappy Protestants.—p. 142.*

The following is copied from "A compendious Abstract of the History of the Church of Christ," by the Rev. William Gahan, an Irish Catholic Priest, printed at Dublin in 1795: the Protestant reader will perceive how bitterly a Papist can complain of persecution when it falls upon his own community.

"This century will be ever remarkable in the annals of history for the French Revolution, which commenced on the 14th of July, 1789, and in a short time exhibited to mankind the most bloody tragedy, that since the creation was ever acted in any civilized nation. The seeds of this revolution had long been sown in France by a set of men, who styling themselves philosophers, had formed a faction, and divided among themselves the task of overturning the throne and the altars. At first they concealed their impious designs, and spoke the language of universal benevolence, humanity, and toleration. They boasted of the lights which they were to diffuse through the world, and of the rights of man, which they pretended to restore. But the atrocity of those pretended philosophers was one day to be unmasked, and the Gallican church and state were to be convinced by woeful experience, that they were actuated by a mortal hatred of Royalty and of the Priesthood, and determined to stop at nothing, that might possibly bring about the destruction both of the one and the other. *When shall I see, said Diderot, the last of Kings strangled with the entrails of the last of Priests?* To such lengths, alas! are men unhappily driven, when they

lose sight of religion, and reject or abuse the lights that God gives them. By a just and terrible judgment, they are abandoned to the errors of their minds, and to the depravity of their hearts, and suffered to plunge into a worse darkness than that of ancient idolatry. They are left to themselves, and to their lawless passions. They break through all bounds, lay aside all shame, make a sacrilegious use of their reason, blind themselves more and more, until, being dead to grace, they fall into the most dissolute debauchery, and the most complete irreligion. The leading heroes of this revolutionary philosophy, and all the sects and impious wits of the day, acknowledged Voltaire to be their father, and solicited for him the honour, pomp and triumph of an apotheosis of ancient Rome. The national assembly enacted that the majestic church of St. Genevieve, the most august fabric in the capital of France, lately finished at the immense expence of more than eighty millions of livres, and forty years' labour, should be converted into a pantheon, and serve as a mausoleum for the reception of the remains of Voltaire and of other declared enemies of Jesus Christ and his religion. An insidious constitution was afterwards framed to sap the very foundations of religion and to subject the gospel to the capricious will of men, who professing no religion themselves, were enemies to every religion. Their hatred of all religion impelled them to enforce an oath on the clergy, which their fidelity to the laws of their conscience would not allow them to take. Unmerited calumnies were therefore artfully spread in order to prejudice the minds of the people against them. They were persecuted with open violence, the altars were stained with the blood of many innocent victims, that refused to join the faction; several were paraded about the public streets in the most humiliating garbs, with labels the most insulting and injurious, and with their mouths crammed with hay. Several were plunged into rivers with pitchforks fixed to their necks, and held under the water till they expired. Several were beheaded, and their heads carried on pikes amidst imprecations and songs.

Several were knocked down in the churches, and kicked and buffeted by merciless ruffians, hired for that purpose. It would be an endless task to enumerate all the horrid sacrileges, assassinations and savage cruelties, that were perpetrated in different parts of the kingdom by the lawless populace, who were encouraged thereto by men in power. Near six hundred persons were butchered in the streets of Nismes, under the pretext of exterminating aristocracy. Mr. Nolhac, the venerable pastor of St. Symphorien, in the eightieth year of his age, and six hundred of his flock, were massacred at Avignon, with bars of massive iron, and torn and disfigured with sabres. The cities of Lyons, Bourdeaux, Rouen, &c. exhibited also most dreadful scenes of ferocious cruelty, bloodshed and barbarity. The sacred asylums of piety, and monasteries of the religious of both sexes, were thrown open, pillaged and profaned. Sanctuaries were pulled down, the sacred vessels were abused, the images were defaced, the paintings were disfigured, the bells were melted, the tombs of the dead were violated, and bullets were made of their leaden coffins, for the use of the soldiery. In short, the supporters of the throne were either guillotined, imprisoned, or obliged to emigrate; and the defenders of religion were either murdered, exiled, or reserved as victims to be immolated at a future period.

“Of one hundred and thirty-eight French Bishops or Arch-bishops, only four prevaricated. The number of priests, both secular and regular, who persevered in a steady refusal of perjury and apostacy, amounted to at least seventy thousand. Those who had not consulted the safety of their lives in time, by travelling over mountains and crossing the seas in quest of some hospitable spot, were cast into prisons and compelled to abandon their flocks to mercenaries and ravenous wolves, who were thrust into the pastoral ministry by a set of laymen, who had no mission or spiritual jurisdiction themselves, and consequently could impart none. Thus a phantom was substituted in France for the church, schism for unity, intruders for lawful pastors, illusion and error for

reality and truth, anarchy and confusion for order and discipline, liberty and equality for regularity and subordination. Nothing can equal the barbarity, with which numbers of the nonjuring ecclesiastics were sacrificed at Paris, the very metropolis of the revolution, and under the eyes of the new Legislators. In the first week of September, 1792, one hundred and sixty priests were massacred in the prison of *La Force*; eighty-six at the *Conciergerie*, and ninety-two at the seminary of *St. Firmin*, according to the printed lists, then published. About one hundred and eighty priests were massacred at the *Abbaye* and at the *Chapel of the Carmelites* in the space of two or three hours. It was here the illustrious Arch-bishop of Arles and his brother the Bishop of Saintes were most inhumanly murdered, whilst, in imitation of the primitive Christians in the Catacombs, they were on their knees united in prayer and offering to God the sacrifice of their lives, in company with several other ecclesiastics of distinguished merit, who, at the same time, likewise sealed with their blood the faith they had gloriously defended. The murders continued at the *Conciergerie* with very little interruption for twenty-six hours; but they lasted at *La Force* from the second of September at night, till late on the fifth. It was the common opinion at Paris that the number of the slain, including both Clergy and Laity, was not less than twelve thousand. Five months had not elapsed from this tragical scene, when his most Christian Majesty, Lewis XVI. appeared on the scaffold the 21st of January, 1793, and his head fell by a decree of a *Convention*, that styled itself *National*. Maria Antoinette of Austria and Lorrain, his Royal consort, and Madam Elizabeth, his sister, were likewise guillotined, by a decree of the same self-created Tribunal. For further particulars the reader is referred to the writings of Maury, Barruel and other well-informed writers, who have faithfully collected the memorable events and transactions of the present age, from the most authentic documents, in order to transmit a genuine history of them to posterity."—Page 395 to 399.



**REMARKS**  
**ON THE**  
**SPEECH of LORD CASTLEREAGH,**  
**IN THE**  
***HOUSE OF COMMONS,***

**On Thursday, May 23d, 1816,**

**OCCASIONED BY**  
**THE MOTION OF SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY,**  
**FOR**

**“ An Address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying that directions should be given to his Majesty’s Ministers, to lay before the House copies or extracts of all communications which had passed between his Majesty’s Government and the Government of France, respecting the sufferings of the Protestants in the South of France.”**





# REMARKS,

&c. &c.

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AFTER the lucid statement of Sir Samuel Romilly, and the able arguments of Mr. Brougham and Sir Samuel in defence of the French Protestants, it would seem almost needless to publish any remarks on the speech of Lord Castlereagh in opposition to the motion in question; but as there are many persons who may triumph in the event of the debate of the 23d of May, and consider the narrative and arguments of the noble Lord as finally setting the question of persecution at rest, which must inevitably prove injurious to the exertions employed in behalf of the sufferers, it has been deemed necessary to offer some further remarks in this place. Upon the writer the subject has a peculiar claim, as he has not only studied it from the commencement in all its bearings, but first directed the public attention towards it, and has something of a character to lose or gain by the truth or falsehood of his *Statements*.

The failure of the motion was not a matter of surprise, as nothing else could be expected after the reply which had been given to the Address to the Prince Regent from the City of London, in which his Royal Highness was pleased to say, that he was perfectly disposed to interpose his good offices in favour of the Protestants on a proper occasion, but that that was not a time in which his interference was called for. Governments are observing of etiquette, and Lord Castlereagh indeed intimated in the Commons, that a breach between France and England might be the result of any

interference on the part of Britain. Those, however, who do not live in the atmosphere of a Court, feel perhaps more keenly for the wrongs of individuals, and they cannot see how the complaint of those wrongs, made through the medium of one friendly power to another, can produce any dangerous effect; especially when one of those powers is under the greatest obligations to the other for its friendly exertions in its behalf, and is maintained against the rebellious spirits which threaten its security by the aid of its troops. Surely it must augur a very unfavourable disposition in that Government towards its aggrieved Protestant subjects, if it could be offended by any gentle remonstrance made by the British Government, for the relief of those sufferers under its authority, who are of the same religion with the latter; it would lead the candid observer to conclude that it possessed the spirit of the Courts of Louis XIV. and XV., which interpreted every petition or complaint, however respectfully made by the oppressed Protestants, as the language of discontent and rebellion, and even their very professions of loyalty as seditious.\*

But to enter fairly into the merits of the question, there are several things to be noticed in the speech of the noble Lord; the admission of the facts relating to the persecution, the apology made for these crimes, and the reasons for not interfering with the French Government in behalf of the sufferers.

The admission of the facts is a very material point, because many attempts have been made to invalidate them, and the French authorities have described them as the squabbles of a few women and children. The noble Lord indeed says, that they have been much *exaggerated*; but though they have long been before the public in different ways, not one half the tale of cruelty reached their ears till the publication of Mr. Perrot's Report took place only the day prior to Sir Samuel's motion. In that Report there are

\* Popery always the Same, p. 47.

no exaggerations; it contains a plain statement of simple facts, procured by one fully competent to ascertain the truth, who has visited the sufferers, and is well acquainted with the scenes of wo; and the information is not anonymous, but chapter and verse is given for every transaction laid before the eye of the public. The writer has employed no colouring nor varnish to adorn his tale; it needed none, for every line is too strongly marked with blood to require any of the aids of art to heighten its effect. Yet his Lordship endeavours to soften down the crimson tints, and to lessen the impressions of horror with which the humane mind must naturally be struck on the first glance at the picture. Not that it is intended to accuse the noble Lord of inhumanity, or even illiberality towards the Protestants, but it is plain that he is not sufficiently aware of all that has transpired. He has procured much of his evidence at the French Court, and has not himself visited the scene of suffering; the latter circumstance renders him less capable of judging of the truth of facts than the author of the Report, and the former must have given a bias to his mind unfavourable to the cause of the Protestants, because it is evident that every means has been used at the Thuilleries to excuse the violences committed in the South of France. However, it is of no small moment in this question, that one of his Majesty's chief Secretaries of State has at last admitted that the tale is "*melancholy*," and that by the information which he had received from a friend who had been in the South, about *a thousand murders* had been committed; the words of the writer, as quoted in the Morning Chronicle of May 24th, are, "the number of lives lost in the department was *under 1000*, and in Nîmes *under 300*." About *a thousand murders on the whole have then been committed, and yet no criminal has been brought to justice!* Strange that any well-organized Government can allow of such proceedings to go on for months together, and not use its authority both to repress the acts of violence, and make an example of the offenders! There must be a fault *somewhere*. Has the French Government done all that it

could to stop the progress of these calamities? *Mrs. Helen Maria Williams*, in her pamphlet says, "Some SECRET AND EVIL INFLUENCE arose between its PURPOSE AND ITS ACT."\*

But let the apologies of the noble Lord now be weighed, and see if they can palliate the crimes committed against the Protestants, justify the impunity allowed to the culprits, and vindicate the conduct of our Government in standing aloof from any interference.

His Lordship pleads, that there are faults on "*both sides*,"—that there is "*a melancholy tale on both sides*." But what is the real state of the case from Mr. Perrot's Report? why, that notwithstanding the aggravations which they had endured after the King ascended the throne, the Protestants *did not attempt to retaliate* on the return of Buonaparte. "During the three months that followed the return of Napoleon, *a single individual* was killed within the walls (of Nîmes,) and this murder was imputed to a military man; though now they endeavour to throw the blame on the Protestants. The glass of the windows of one house was broken, and *not a single house was pillaged*. The Catholics, who at first were frightened, had afterwards honesty enough to acknowledge, that order and tranquillity had been maintained: but unwilling to ascribe this to the Protestants in general, they pretended that the maintenance of tranquillity was owing to the efforts of the Protestant mayor alone."† "It is worthy of observation, that the excess of misery has not induced *any Protestant* to degrade himself by any act of dishonesty. None of the estates of their persecutors (some of which are in Protestant villages) have suffered the least depredation. There has not been the least disturbance in the small towns and villages where only a few Catholic families resided, whilst the Protestants have every where been pillaged, ruined, or impoverished."‡ Three months before the return of the King, the Catholics indeed artfully reported that "the Protestants

\* On the late Persecutions, p. 59.

† Perrot's Report, p. 50.

‡ Ibid. p. 52.

had formed the project of murdering all the Catholics in Nîmes," but it was wholly without foundation. "All the vengeance taken by the Protestant populace, was confined to a few Protestant songs, *by no ways sanguinary*."\* Two Catholic soldiers were indeed killed in the village of Arpaillargue, which in their flight they entered in arms, announcing hostile intentions.† And after these facts have been so plainly stated, the noble Lord endeavours to persuade the House of Commons that there is "*a melancholy tale on both sides*," as though the Protestants had been butchering the Catholics *with equal vengeance*. They did not want means of vengeance in some places, and superiority of numbers; but finding themselves deserted by the authorities, they patiently submitted to the knife of the murderer, and left their cause in the hands of him who says, "vengeance is mine, and I will repay."

Another argument of the noble Lord is, that these persecutions are *local*, that they are "confined to a narrow district forty miles square, and in all other parts the Protestants enjoy as much toleration as in England." It is true, the severity of the storm has fallen upon that spot where the black-cloud was most likely to burst; but it has been felt more or less in parts of the kingdom most remote from each other, and even in Brittany and Normandy the spirit of persecution has caused the Protestants to live *in terrore*, though where their numbers were not so great, they were of course much less exposed to persecution; nor has the disposition to persecute been confined to the mob. "Since the *second* return of the King," says Mr. Perrot, "every means has been employed to humble and exasperate the Reformed. Protestant mayors, and justices of the peace, have been displaced. The national guard in the greater part of the South have been entirely composed of Catholics. At St. Hypolite, where the Protestant population is four to one, I found on inquiry, that it does not include one of the Reformed. The

\* Perrot's Report, p. 44.

† Ibid. p. 45.

same measure has been pursued throughout the Cevennes, the Gardonenne, and La Vauzage, where they are most numerous. In fact, through the whole department of the Gard, they have been disarmed. In the departments of L'Hérault, L'Aveyron, and La Haute Garonne, the same plan has been adopted. As the number of Protestants in the northern and western departments is less considerable, they have not excited so much jealousy; yet some of their ministers have been compelled to absent themselves for a time from their churches, and others to leave their native country. In every part of France, where I have been, the Protestants are rather treated as *aliens* than as *subjects*.\* It seems then from this testimony, which is the most recent and highly credible, that the evil is not so local as to be merely "confined to the department of the Gard, and a part of the neighbouring departments." Nor is the conclusion of his Lordship quite correct, that there is nothing *systematical* in it, for the above statement must convince every impartial mind, that there is too much system in the affair, and that there seems a determination somewhere, to crush the Protestant community in every part of the country.

His Lordship also remarked, that the French Government could have "*no interest* in keeping alive the disturbances, even though the King had been a cruel instead of a wise, amiable, and benevolent Monarch." Surely his Lordship did not recollect that France had ever before been the seat of persecution. What interest had Louis XIV. in butchering or driving from his kingdom eight hundred thousand of his most wealthy, industrious, and peaceable subjects, people whose money and labour have since contributed in no small degree to promote the prosperity of those more enlightened nations under the governments of which they found refuge and rest. Superstitious fanatics do not always consult the interests of a nation when they allow their passions to be overcome by revenge; so cruel

\* Perrot's Report, p. 15.

indeed is their spirit, that even the dearest friends of their own sect are not spared in sacrifice to complete their designs. "Kill 'em all," said the cruel Charles, when some would have spared the Protestants, rather than mistakenly murder their Catholic brethren,—“Kill 'em all, the Lord knows them that are his!”

His Lordship objected to any interference in behalf of the Protestants on the ground of impropriety, and argued that the French Government would have the same right to interfere with the British in behalf of the Catholics. And if they did, would there be any harm likely to accrue from a friendly remonstrance? Were the Catholics butchered by Protestant Governments, it is most probable that there would soon be a new crusade, and the Regent would be honoured with *another visit* from the Nuncio of his Holiness, to interpose in their behalf. Nor would such an interposition be at all censurable. However states may be separated from each other by laws and governments, and religion, the great cause of humanity unites them all together as one family; and in this cause England, the avenger of the wrongs of Africa, stands eminently distinguished. Britannia is never out of her element when interposing for the oppressed, and the noblest motto on her shield is, *Humani a me nil alienum puto*.

It is, however, unfortunate for this question, that it is made so *political*, as this blunts the feelings of the humane who would otherwise be more ready to sympathize with the sufferers; and his Lordship did not neglect to give it something of a political aspect. In this endeavour he was supported by Lord BINNING, who even went so far as to say, that “the names of Protestant and Buonapartist were synonymous.” This stale trick of screening persecution under the shield of politics, ought now to be scouted by every well-informed man. According to this, no such thing as persecution has ever existed in the world. The immaculate victim of Calvary was accused by false witnesses as THE ENEMY OF CÆSAR! The disciples of Jesus



were accused of what in modern language is called SEDITION. NERO made use of political excuses to justify his cruel treatment of the Christians, and the persecuting Princes of the House of Bourbon never wanted the same pretence. But here Mr. Perrot appears again as a witness. "The Court was too far from the Gard to be entirely acquainted with the Protestants. Composed almost entirely of men, who had been absent from France for more than twenty years, it was natural for Government to listen to the representations of those who covered their criminal designs with the veil of the most exalted royalism. They attempted, as soon as the Bourbons were reseatd on the Throne, to engage an agent of the Government, who transmitted a weekly Report of the State of the Department to the Minister of the Interior, to denounce all the Protestants of the South as secret enemies to the Crown. He generously resisted, and refused as an insult, the offers of honours and preferments which were to reward his calumnies. To make use of the expressions of the respectable individual, 'They took the task upon themselves and succeeded.'"<sup>\*</sup> "When Trinquetlagues, Bernis, and Calvieres, loudly proclaimed the murders at Nîmes to be the effect of *political opinions*, they said the truth: *their infernal policy* inflamed the mob, and directed its fury on the UNOFFENDING PROTESTANTS."<sup>†</sup>

Lord C. does not only justify the British Government for not interfering in this business, but even vindicates the neglect of the French Government; and by the argument which he employs, throws the veil of oblivion over the crimes of the villains Trestailon, Quatre-tailon, and the most barbarous ringleaders in the acts of cruelty committed at Nîmes. By making the affair as much political as religious, and taking it for granted that the one side has been as criminal as the other; he asks, if "*the guilty on one side only should be punished;*" and argues on the extreme difficulty of extending the operation of the law to "*the delinquents of all parties.*" If MURDER

<sup>\*</sup> Perrot's Report, p. 32.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. p. 33.

can be proved any where, it belongs to the magistrate to punish it. "He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." No murders are, however, proved against the Protestants, while many of the most deliberate murders have been committed by the Catholic banditti, and even gloried in by their leaders, who seemed to feel themselves secure from punishment, which security has been the result of their atrocious crimes. But unhappily for the afflicted Protestants, even the plan recommended by Lord Castlereagh has not been adopted; for while the ensanguined wretches who have headed these barbarities have escaped punishment, to fill up the measure of their sufferings, many miserable Protestants have been thrown into prison, where they remain without trial, and others have been brought to the bar on the slightest pretences, and condemned to suffer the most cruel punishments. Had the writer the honour of an interview with Lord C. he would press these facts earnestly upon his attention, and beseech him to re-consider his verdict, and still come forward to the help of suffering humanity. It would place laurels on his brow, far more glorious than even those acquired under the present administration by the military achievements of a Wellington, and give a lustre to his decorations of honour which time could never tarnish.

Let not his Lordship imagine that the Protestants do not desire the interposition of the British Government and people. They do desire it. They are grateful for it. From the very extremity of the Continent the writer has received expressions of gratitude to himself as an individual, and heaps of blessings have been lavished on the heads of the three denominations for their unwearied exertions. "The Protestants revived," says Mr. Perrot, "they felt that they were not deserted by the whole human race. The blessing of those that were ready to perish came upon you. The day of judgment alone shall declare how many lives you have saved. Whatever may be the estimate of malevolence and inhumanity; whatever difficulties may be thrown in the way

of your benevolent and determined efforts; those who are the objects of them entertain but one sentiment, and express but one feeling. 'The Protestant Dissenters of England (say they) have saved our lives and fortunes, they have defended our characters; may heaven reward them for their generous and UNSOLICITED interference.' "§ When the publication of the STATEMENTS caused the public bodies first to move, and the City of London announced their resolutions in the papers, the information found its way to Nîmes: the Protestants were assembled by the ring of bell to hear the news. The Catholics, surprised at their courage and their irregular hour of assembling, enquired into the occasion; and when they found that the City of London had interfered, and that the Protestants of England were in a state of alarm, they felt all the confusion of guilt, lest they should be called to justice for their crimes, and the lives of many devoted victims were saved. This one circumstance alone will ever fill the writer's heart with delight, and afford him the sweetest satisfaction in recollecting that it fell to his lot to be the pioneer in this important business.

Mr. Perrot states something like the above. He says,— "When your efforts became known in the land of oppression, the instigators of the deeds of blood were awed. They went from house to house, and exhorted the populace to refrain from *present* outrages. The Catholics were like men trembling beneath the bolt of divine justice. 'We have gone too far, (said the chiefs,) *let us reserve the rest of our vengeance for more convenient times.*' "§

Let it be remembered, that THE PERSECUTION HAS NOT YET TERMINATED. Lord C. believes that it has, and that nothing material has occurred since last December. But though no violences of so desperate a nature as have been detailed are at present discoverable, the passions are still in a tumult. Another storm may succeed another calm, and before the wrecks of the late tempest have disappeared,

§ Perrot's Report, p. 40.

† Ibid.

one yet more dreadful may sweep away the remaining victims of its rage. The elements of persecution still exist. "The inveterate enemies of Protestantism," says Mr. Perrot, "remain armed. The authorities under whose eyes the massacres were committed, retain the supreme power in the south. The reformed are yet menaced. I have seen at Nîmes no later than the third of March, Protestants driven with stones from the public square. Calumnies are insidiously circulated. And if *Public Papers* have been, and are yet employed by the *French Government* in France and in this country, to extenuate the evil and to traduce the Protestants, no other object is in view, but to leave them entirely at the mercy of their enemies."\* The offenders, by escaping punishment, will grow bold in their crimes. The speech of Lord Castlereagh, like the letter of the Duke of Wellington, will be handed about among the Catholics in triumph; and if no further measures are taken in behalf of the sufferers, the British public may expect to hear that the recent calamities which have befallen the Protestants, however great, are only "the beginning of sorrows." But if at least the worst delinquents are punished, a recurrence of such bloody and disgraceful scenes will be prevented,—scenes which happening under the reign of Louis XVIII. are of course associated with his name, and dim the lustre of a reign which it was hoped would ever have shone in the annals of history, with the brightest splendour.

If the rising spirit of persecution is not suppressed, the friends of tolerance have reason to be alarmed. It is this that will revive in Europe the illiberal spirit of the centuries gone by, and not a friendly interposition in behalf of the oppressed. It is this that will restore the spirit of the Crusades, revive the massacres of St. Bartholomew Day, and refit a Spanish Armada supplied with every instrument

\* Perrot's Report, p. 35.

of torture for the Protestants; and the mind unbiassed must admit that such fears are not wholly chimerical, when the result of the late peace has been the restoration of the Pope, the expulsion of the Protestants from his territories, the revival of the infernal Inquisition, the oppression of the Protestants in Sardinia, and the persecution of the same community in France. These are rapid strides towards a retrograde movement, and which, as superstitious tyranny has always been the foe of civil liberty, should make the world tremble for THE LIBERTIES OF EUROPE.

The late stir in England upon this subject will shew superstitious tyrants, wherever they are, that their movements are watched; that the most powerful nation in Europe are not lost to the interests of their fellow-men, though separated by seas and continents; and though the motion of Sir Samuel Romilly miscarried, it will have its effect in teaching the persecutors to be cautious, and publishing to the world the doctrines of toleration,—doctrines which, to the honour of the House of Commons, were decidedly avowed by both sides of that honourable House.

Although the Ministers of Government, from prudential motives, deem any formal interference unnecessary, no restriction under a free government binds the hands of the people from exercising acts of liberality, and they can at all events enjoy the luxury of relieving the oppressed; and shewing to the world that there is at least one nation alive to their sufferings. Lord C. indeed says that the friends of the Protestants in this country have excited "a new schism," by writing to the ministers of the different departments respecting the persecution. The *policy* of this measure shall not here be discussed, but the observation of his Lordship, that by this means ministers were informed of the affairs in the south, who were ignorant of them before, only proves the enslaved state of the press and the post-office in France; and instead of disproving the persecution, seems to justify the fears of those who apprehended that

there was a plan somewhere to cut off the Protestants in detail. His Lordship's remark also strengthens the complaint of Mr. Perrot, who observes that the ministers could not correspond with each other, but by sending their letters in bales of goods, by confidential private hands, or where it had been previously arranged, by couching their information under the disguise of hieroglyphics.

In concluding these remarks, it is worthy of notice, that Lord Castlereagh's speech presents a perfect contrast to the spirit of the *Christian Observer*. That publication, which has rendered itself increasingly odious to many of its readers by the way in which it has taken up this subject, has attributed the most ungenerous motives to the friends of the French Protestants, and has not been sparing in the application of the term *Jacobin*, and other malignant epithets, to blacken them; but Lord C. has done them the justice to consider them, as "WELL-DISPOSED PERSONS," though he laments that "they have meddled with affairs which they *did not understand*." Of this the Public must judge from *the facts*, and it is to be hoped that they will carefully peruse the vast fund of evidence which has been brought to light from the visit of the Rev. Clement Perrot to Nîmes.

This question has hitherto been viewed as affecting only the cause of humanity, and the rights of conscience: but let it not be forgotten, that it may involve in it THE PEACE OF EUROPE. For this the British Government has fought; its armies are still maintained at a considerable expence to secure peace; and can it look with indifference on a scene which in the end may rekindle the torch of war? Religious commotions in the south have in former times enveloped all Europe in flames; but if the contest is only *political*, or partly so, as the noble Lord admits, it then has a still stronger claim to the notice of Government; for until the storm in the south has wholly subsided, and no excuse is left for opposing the reigning

family of France, the end of British efforts cannot be considered as fully attained, and Europe can never be viewed in a state of perfect peace. Such a peace is the first wish of the writer's heart, as he is persuaded it is of all those who think with him on the subject of the persecutions in the south of France.

Since writing the above, the following article has appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of May 28, copied from a private letter, dated Paris, May 22. "We learn from good authority, that in the course of last week a general rising took place at Nîmes, which terminated in the massacre of a great number of the Protestants, and in the destruction of their dwellings. It is confidently stated that at least one half of the city has fallen a prey to the flames." Another article from Paris of May 25, qualifies this affair. It may probably be exaggerated; but when we recollect that facts which have since been corroborated relative to the persecution, have all come through similar channels, and take into consideration the slavery of the French press, the news of any additional violences at Nîmes is worthy of serious attention. "The massacre at Nîmes," says the latter article, "began at the celebration of a Protestant wedding. The parties were grossly insulted by some Catholics: blows ensued. The bridegroom fell in the affray, and in the result upwards of one hundred and sixty persons, men, women, and children, were massacred. They also set fire to the house of the Protestant in question, by means of which several adjoining houses were destroyed." Amidst the mass of information which has been received, and the efforts made to delude the public, it is remarkable that the enemies of the Protestants have only dealt out loose and unsubstantial charges against them about acts of violence, while every fresh account details the sufferings of the Protestants, and they are *the only complainants*. The policy of their enemies has not been suffered to go so far as to conceal this plain evidence. But are these poor creatures to be goaded to desperation, and then to

be branded with the name of rebels, if they should be driven to take up arms to defend themselves, when the Government under which they live either cannot or will not defend their lives and their property? Let Lord C. and his colleagues seriously weigh the fatal consequences of neglecting the cause of these oppressed people, and both their policy and their humanity will secure their active exertions in their behalf. The British Government now interferes to keep the French king on his throne, and British troops afford him very powerful support; such an interference cannot therefore under present circumstances be justly deemed impertinent, and would insure the lasting gratitude of every friend of humanity and religion.

THE END.





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